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'Demagogy' in NATO Stance on Arms Reductions

LD130005 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] As already reported, in Vienna another meeting has been held within the framework of the consultations between representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. It continued the coordination of elements of the mandate for future talks regarding armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Commentary form the "Latest News." Viktor Levin is at the microphone.

[Levin] The meetings in Vienna within the framework of the above mentioned consultations have been held for several months now, and, incidentally, the question of talks on armed forces and conventional armaments is coming to the fore today when one can realistically reckon on the signing of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium and shorter range missiles in Europe. This is being talked about, this is being written about, but, in my view, demagogy obviously prevails over realism in NATO's stand.

Here is a fresh example for you. Carrington, secretary general of NATO, gave an interview to the U.S. *International Herald Tribune*, which is widely read in Europe. In particular, the following question was put to him: Many analysts consider that after the conclusion of the agreement on nuclear medium range forces, the Russians will start to conduct a campaign of Disarmament initiatives in the sphere of disarmament in the spring of next year in order to impart another slant to the political atmosphere in Europe. Do you agree with that? This is Carrington's answer. I shall reproduce it for you as literally as I did the question: Naturally, they will do that. They will bombard public opinion with proposals. We have already heard a lot of proposals of this type; in essence, many of them like the agreement on medium range nuclear forces have been Western proposals rejected by them earlier. At first sight, other proposals sound tempting, but in actual fact they are not really serious ones. This is what Carrington said, and the opinion expressed — there are quite a few other opinions on this score — prevails in NATO circles.

The purport of the NATO general secretary's words is that the cunning Russians, like the sirens with their sweet singing, will try to bewitch the ingenuous West Europeans so as to take them with bare hands, as they say. True, in that case, it is not quite clear, or to be more exact, it is quite unclear why the Russians are, as Carrington says, reiterating a proposal formerly put forward by the West. Surely the West did not want to deliver up the NATO countries to the Soviets as well? If we are to speak to the point, and this is precisely how we should speak, then first, not only the Russians but all the Warsaw Pact member states are appealing for a start to be made in limiting conventional armaments and armed forces. Second, specific proposals on that count will not arise in the spring of next year, but were put forward more than a year ago in Budapest at the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. There, apart from anything else, it was proposed that a one-time mutual reduction should be effected over 1 or 2 years in the numbers of troops of states belonging to confronting military and political alliances. If NATO had taken a serious attitude to this proposal, the reductions would already have been carried out; even up to the present time we do not see a serious approach to the proposals made by the socialist countries, either. On the contrary, in those same NATO circles they are talking about upgrading of armaments by which they mean the stepping up of the arms race in the future. It looks as if the essence of their position is contained in this approach.

Marshal Kulikov Cites Persisting NATO Threat

PM121451 Moscow APN MILITARY BULLETIN in English No 19 Sep 87 pp 1-2

[Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov article: "There Has Been And Remains A Threat to the Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries From NATO"]

[Text] The Warsaw Treaty Organisation is not only a military alliance but above all a political one. This means that it gives priority to political means in its activity in the international arena aimed at both ensuring its own security and averting the threat of war in Europe, strengthening stability in the region. The entire history of the defensive alliance of the socialist countries irrefutably proves that it threatens no one, that it does not intend to attack anyone.

At the same time, the question has been discussed for decades now of whether NATO really threatens the security of the Warsaw Treaty countries, though this actually means obvious things. A threat to the socialist countries from NATO is quite real.

I shall give a recent fact. Last June, speaking in West Berlin, and also in his radio speech last August, the US President Reagan openly urged a change of the frontiers in Europe, which had taken shape after World War II, meaning thereby the frontiers of socialist states.

It must be said that those words were pronounced immediately after the allied socialist countries had stated at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Berlin that they would never, under no circumstances, be the first to start military operation against any state or alliance, unless they became the object of armed attack themselves. They do not have territorial claims to make on any state in Europe or elsewhere. Aggressiveness in politics predetermines the aggressiveness of the military doctrines of NATO states and the North Atlantic alliance as a whole. The armed forces of the bloc are openly getting ready for operations against the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

This is evidenced by the orientation of military development, operational and combat training, by the build-up of arms of all types by NATO countries.

Take, at least, NATO's "deep-strike strategy", or "follow-on force attack", concept. That's an openly aggressive concept, as its key point is to take the enemy by surprise, that is, to be the first to strike. And NATO is preparing for that. It stands to reason that our states cannot help reckoning with this.

I deem it necessary to recall that the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member-states is of a purely defensive character. It sets the task, for the first time in military history, to avert war, both nuclear and conventional.

Gen Chervov: U.S. Seeks Joint 'Armed Truce'

PM121453 Moscow APN MILITARY BULLETIN in English No 19 Sep 87 pp 2-4

[General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces Department Head, Colonel General Nikolay Chervov article: "U.S. Policy Arouses Concern"]

[Text] The USSR is concerned over the American Administration's manoeuvres around the ABM Treaty, a treaty of unlimited duration. SDI and the ABM treaty are incompatible, and neither propaganda stunts nor legal tricks can reconcile them. As soon as testing begins in space — and the Pentagon's research and development program has come very close to starting this — the ABM Treaty will be blown off. If the treaty ceases to exist, the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons will naturally become meaningless.

The West and the East have such economic, scientific, technological and military possibilities that neither of the sides will allow military superiority of the other. In response to SDI the USSR will find an effective and cheaper alternative, which will be implemented in a very short time. We tried to dissuade the American Administration from taking weapons to space. All our arguments have been in vain, and it continues its Star Wars policy with surprising stubbornness. I can repeat: The United States will not win tranquility by means of the Star Wars because we won't sit on our hands. The Soviet Union proceeds form the idea that in the nuclear age it is impossible to create two systems of security — a stronger system for oneself and a more vulnerable for the neighbour. Security can only be for all, and it is indivisible. In case of the Soviet Union and the United States, there can only be equal mutual security — precisely what we suggest: universal security for the whole world.

Soviet peace initiatives are neither a part of a political game nor a device designed to corner the partner, to outpace him in armaments or to score political points. They are clear and honest, whereas Washington's response is not. I want to cite several examples to illustrate my point.

The Soviet Union has opened its entire territory for inspection, without the right to refuse, in line with the convention on the elimination of chemical weapons and with a view to fulfilling the agreement on medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. The United States sort of bluffs.

While working for the termination of all nuclear tests, the USSR proposed to limit the yield of nuclear explosions to one kiloton and to cut the number of such explosions to 2-3 times a year.

At the talks in Geneva there is a Soviet proposal for a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons with a simultaneous ban on testing strike space weapons and the Budapest program for a 25-percent reduction of the armed forces, tactical nuclear and conventional armaments of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. We are prepared to discuss the imbalances and asymetries in the two blocs' armed forces and armaments and to carry out cuts in the forces of the side that has superiority.

Is there anything unacceptable in the Soviet proposals? Why don't we receive an adequate answer from the United States? Judging by everything, the United States is only ready for an "armed truce" between East and West and only in some individual areas of their military confrontation.

Alekseyevskiy Notes Permissible SDI Work

LD121455 Moscow APN MILITARY BULLETIN in English No 19 Sep 87 pp 4-5

[USSR Foreign Minstry expert Vitaliy Alekseyevskiy article: "Soviet Stand Over SDI Toally Clear"]

[Text] As announced by the Pentagon, US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger has approved recommendations made by the Defence Acquisition Board concerning the start of demonstration testing of the SDI technology more ready for application, such as monitoring and tracking systems, including space-based, anti-missiles to be deployed on orbiting platforms, exoatmospheric missile interceptors, and communicaitons and battle management systems. [sentence as received]

The testing range to be used is on Kwajalein Atoll in the Pacific. One aim of the planned experiments is missile interception with the help of kinetic weapons.

Simultaneously with the statements on the further SDI effort, there came unambiguous hints that the Soviet Union had allegedly "moderated" its stand over the issue, and that this stand allegedly made it possible to continue with SDI.

This is wishful thinking. The Soviet stand on the issue of preventing an arms race in space is firm and clear—space must remain free of any strike weapons.

At the same time, considering that the US Administration is not ready to come to terms on space, and that President Reagan is personally committed to SDI, the Soviet Union found it possible not to object to SDI work limited by the laboratory, i.e. research in institutes, factories, and testing ranges both indors and in the open.

In an effort to strengthen the ABM Treaty regime, the Soviet Union proposes that the Soviet Union and the US pledge not to use the right to withdraw from the Treaty for a period of ten years, while unfailingly complying with all of its provisions.

To ensure the precise and uniform understanding of its provisions by the sides, as the Soviet side believes, it would be advisable to agree on the dividing line between what ABM work the Treaty allows and what it bans. Agreement on this issue would enable progress toward concrete accords on strategic offensive arms.

Should the US choose to ignore existing limitations on ABM systems and take the arms race into space, there would be absolutely no chance of an accord on stratigic offensive arms reduction.

No SDI Concessions Made in Lieu of Secartiy

PM121939 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[Article by Observer Manki Ponomarev under rubric:"International Observer Answers Reader": "The Key Problem of Our Time"; first paragraph is unattributed introduction; second paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] In a letter to the editors Major I. Ogiyenko shares his doubts:

"We are all following attentively the preparations for M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with R. Reagan which is to begin 7 December in Washington. We know that the meeting will focus on the problem of the reduction of USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms under conditions in which the ABM Treaty is preserved. However, the impression is forming that recently we have compromised in relation to SDI. Is that so? And will not such compromise be detrimental to the Soviet Union's security?

[Ponomarev] I can say with complete confidence, Comrade Ogiyenko, that there are no grounds for such fears. Progress in the sphere of a 50% reduction in Soviet and American strategic offensive arms is perfectly possible, and moreover in the very near future. Such a reduction is possible only on the basis of the principle of equality and identical security, which naturally presupposes strict observance of the ABM treaty, so there can be no question of any concessions by the Soviet Union with respect to SDI, let alone of any compromise detrimental to our security.

The Soviet Union still believes that the "Strategic Defense Initiative" advanced by the American side is a program of "Star Wars" designed to place [vyvod] weapons in space and secure U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union. We have never gone back on that appraisal of SDI. The U.S. Administration continues to cling to the program. Most recently the head of the White House has publicly repeated at least three times that he cannot abandon SDI.

Yet it was made clear all of a year ago at Reykjavik that the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is the most major obstacle in the way of the implementation of disarmament measures of truly historic worth. Still today, now that the search for a solution to the key question in the matter of halting the nuclear arms race and in Soviet-American relations — the question of reducing both countries' strategic offensive armaments by half — is on the agenda, the question of not placing [nevyvod] weapons in space remains the determining one [opredelyayushchiy].

The question may arise: But can these problems not be separated? Cannot the reduction of strategic offensive arms be uncoupled from observance of the ABM treaty? There is only one possible answer: No, and here is why.

We all live in an interconnected, interdependent world that constitutes a definite whole. The most acute problems of that world, including or even primarily the problems of nuclear disarmament and the nonplacement of weapons in space, are also most closely linked with and dependent on one another. The implementation [realizatsiya] of SDI will inevitably lead to an arms race in near-Earth space, and that will nullify any measures to reduce strategic offensive arms and undermine rather than reinforce security.

So, it seems that we are in a vicious circle, does it not? The USSR cannot agree to a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms unless the non-placement of weapons in space is ensured, while the United Stastes is unwilling to abandon SDI or turn it, as Reagan once put it, into a bargaining chip in the negotiations. Impasse?

No. A mutually acceptable outturn can still be found. If it proves impossible to change Washington's mind on the SDI question in the present conditions, then the USSR insists on a minimum: maintaining strict observance of the ABM treaty at least for 10 years. Then a sharp reduction of strategic offensive arms — by one-half — becomes perfectly possible.

The prospect of drawing the sides' positions closer together on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms under conditions of strict observance of the ABM treaty has held a central place in the course of recent Soviet-American contacts. As early as last April the USSR proposed to the United States that "key provisions" on the observance of the ABM treaty be elaborated: that an understanding in principle be reached on reinforcing the treaty regime; that a mutual commitment be made not to withdraw from it for a fixed period; that a list of devices be agreed upon that would be permitted to be banned from being placed in space; and that agreement be reached on restricting scientific research work in the sphere of space anti-missile defense to the laboratory, that is, keeping it on Earth — in institutions, on test ranges, and in plants. A corresponding draft of agreements was submitted at the Geneva talks. Moreover, in the interests of removing any ambiguities, it was suggested that the sides discuss and determine the list of devices whose placement in space would be banned and name the specific characteristics and parameters of these devices.

Later on, when he was in Washington in September, USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze proposed two solutions capable of progressing the solution of the question of a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms under conditions of strict observance of the ABM treaty. They entailed a clear definition of the laboratories where tests of space systems could be performed, and also a list of the systems apart from which any others could be placed in space for testing. Moreover the Soviet side had already named the characteristics and parameters of these systems or devices. Everything below these characteristics or parameters would not be banned.

Additional proposals aimed at finding solutions to satisfy both sides were made by M.S. Gorbachev at the end of October during his conversation with U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. Their essence consists, to put it briefly, in the following: The United States agrees to embody in law a commitment not to exercise its right to withdraw from the ABM treaty for 10 years while strictly observing it; the Soviet Union agrees to set limits to the number of warheads on individual types of USSR and United States strategic offensive weapons — as the latter has long proposed.

What can be said about the U.S. position on these questions? Most recently some small movement has been observable there. R. Reagan pointed out, in a reference to "flexibility on the timetable for SDI deployment, that "this will be one of the questions up for discussion" with the CPSU Central Commitee general secretary. This allowed one television company to conclude: In his statements the President has proposed flexibility on various questions, even the SDI program." Also in the recent period the Congress has made it incumbent on the administration to stick for a minimum of 2 years to the traditional interpretation of the ABM treaty, that is, in the form in which it was signed and ratified.

But stubborn supporters of SDI are are still making their voices heard across the ocean too. For example, outgoing Defense Secretary C. Weinberger stated in an NBC TV interview that "the United States must not and will not abandon the Strategic Defense Initiative." His successor, F. Carlucci, has stated unequivocally that SDI deployment "will go ahead." But all this cannot detract from the Soviet-American summit meeting planned for 7 December. It has to lay the foundation for a future agreement on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms under conditions of the maintenance of the ABM treaty for an agreed time.

So, Comrade Ogiyenko, the USSR is making no concessions with respect to SDI and is not forgoing its security. No one is going to lose, and the gain will be everyone's, because everyone's security will become more reliable.

Correction to Pasko Arms Initiative Commentary

The following corrections pertain to the item headlined "Pasko Lauds New Soviet Arms Initiatives," published in the 26 October Soviet Union *Daily Report*, page 1:

Column one, paragraph three, sentence four, make read: ...with the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radio-relay station [radioreleynoy stantsii], the Soviet Union is unilaterally... (substituting the word "radio-relay" for "relay" and supplying vernacular)

Column one, paragraph three, last sentence, make read: ...a corresponding step concerning the U.S. RLS [radar station] in Scotland. (substituting "RLS [radar station]" for "relay station")

Gen Belikov Dies of Heart Failure in GDR

LD131103 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1043 GMT 13 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 13 Nov (ADN)—The commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Army General Valeriy Belikov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, died of acute heart failure in Wuensdorf on Thursday. He had been in his post since 1986.

Valeriy Belikov was born on 19 July 1925 and joined the CPSU in 1949. He served in the Soviet Army from 1942 and held several command positions. Valeriy Belikov attended the military academy of armored troops and the military academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. From 1979, he was the commander of the troops in the Carpathian Military District.

Pact Information Group Meets in Warsaw

LD122034 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw November 12 TASS—The multilateral group on mutual current information comprising representatives of the Warsaw treaty member countries held a regular session in Warsaw on November 11-12.

The session exchanged information and views on some topical international issues.

Henryk Jaroszek, general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw treaty member countries and deputy foreign minister of Poland, met with the session's participants.

Soviet CEMA Aide on Work of 43d Session

PM021415 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with the Soviet Union's permament CEMA representative A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by correspondent Ye. Fadeyev: "CEMA: Restructuring Under Way"; date, place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Fadeyev] The 43d (Extraordinary) CEMA Session ended recently. Why was it convened, Aleksey Konstantinovich, and why an extraordinary meeting?

[Antonov] At the working meeting of the leaders of CEMA countries' communist and workers parties in Moscow about a year ago, the countries' governments were set the task of elaborating a mechanism of economic cooperation that would make the maximum contribution to implementing the strategy of deepening and intensifying integration processes determined by the 1984 economic summit conference. As a result, all routine matters being prepared for the next session were deferred, and specialists and scientists from the fraternal states got down to carrying out the task set by the working meeting. It was not an easy job, but by and large the countries' positions coincided—restructuring of the mechanism of CEMA cooperation and activity is necessary for everyone, irrespective of particular features of economic development and structures of national economic mechanisms.

[Fadeyev] You said: By and large. So were there differences on specific points?

[Antonov] Yes, different viewpoints, when it comes to practical problems, are perfectly natural. Some are ready to tackle the problems right now, others have not yet established their final opinion, and the internal economic prerequsities for solving particular tasks have not yet taken shape. But all the work on the session documents was carried out on a democratic basis, and the resolution we adopted was the product of genuinely collective effort.

[Fadeyev] What did the CEMA session bring to the lives of the socialist countries?

[Antonov] We arrived at a collective decision in three interconnected areas.

The first is intensification of economic levers and establishment of conditions for active involvement of the fraternal countries' economic organizations in integration processes, based on commitment and responsibility stemming from economic accountability [khozraschet]. I am thinking of the development of direct coproduction links and formation of joint enterprises and international associations and organizations. This line stems from the logic of developing national economic mechanisms and from the need to democratize the entire system of our cooperation and give the broad strata of working people a stake in it.

The second is coordination of the CEMA countries' national economic policies with the aid of the collective prospectus for international socialist division of labor in 1991-2005. The restructuring of work on plan coordination belongs here, too. This provides a sound plan foundation for improvement of the structure of the fraternal countries' national economies, taking into account the demands of specialization and the scientific and technical revolution. This means that reciprocal trade turnover will increase on a qualitatively new basis.

Third and last: Radical improvement of the system of collective management of the integration process—that is, restructuring CEMA's activity and structure.

I want to emphasize that the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 plays the determining role in practically solving the tasks of combining achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the planned economy and in priority development of key areas of the national economy. It will be the backbone of all our collective work.

[Fadeyev] Aleksey Konstantinovich, the 38th session in 1984 adopted a detailed resolution on results of the economic summit conference, the 41st approved in 1985 the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, and the 43d, as you said before, outlined specific steps to implement objectives set by the working meeting of the fraternal parties' leaders. But what about specialization and coproduction in our community? There are reports in the press from time to time saying that, when compared with capitalist integration, these forms of international cooperation are virtually nonexistent here.

[Antonov] "Nonexistent" is too emotional a word. As for specialization, it became a significant factor in our community a long time ago, particularly in such industrial sectors as electrical engineering, shipbuilding, aircraft construction, and, indeed, many others. In 10 years, 1970-1980, alone, the volume of reciprocal deliveries of specialized products rose from R300 million to R25 billion.

But the intrasectorial coproduction situation is more complex. True, when making comparisons with the West, we must not forget that although they talk about international coproduction, it is intrafirm coproduction, particularly in connection with rapid development of the multinationals. But in our case coproduction questions have hitherto been solved at interstate level, and each decision of that kind has been an event.

But here too, in some areas, high results have been achieved. Back in the seventies, we were developing computer coproduction. Take coproduction of equipment for nuclear power stations: The number of fraternal countries' specialized enterprises and the volume of output are no smaller than in the case of leading Western corporations. But these are just a few examples.

As for the overall level of international production specialization and coproduction in the CEMA countries, it is still in fact extremely low, so the session assigned priority to the tasks of sharply and rapidly boosting it. This is one of the main reserves for improving the economic effectiveness of the CEMA countries' cooperation.

[Fadeyev] How do the decisions of the 43d CEMA Session fit in with the radical reform of national economic management taking place in our country?

Since the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, the party and government have adopted a range of detailed resolutions on economic reform matters. The USSR Supreme Soviet approved the Law on the State Enterprise. No matter what document you look at, you are bound to find provisions relating to collaboration between the Soviet economy and the fraternal countries' economies. By involving sector ministries, enterprises, and associations in foreign economic activity and granting them broad rights in that sphere, we are consolidating this line economically and are providing it with a system of plan targets, a system of economic mechanism, and with organizational-legal norms.

Take the Law on the State Enterprise, for example. The Soviet director now has rights in the economic sphere which are in no way more limited than those in the other CEMA countries, where enterprises have switched to principles of independence, self-capitalization, and self-financing. But not everyone has learned to use these rights. At the beginning of next year, the bulk of our enterprises switch to complete economic accountability and self-financing. It will be a powerful incentive to develop all forms of economic links with partners in the socialist countries.

[Fadeyev] Are you saying that all the problems will then be solved? After all, many people are still in no hurry to utilize the rights they now have and are not even prepared to operate in the new way. Who can guarantee that ministries and departments will not continue to keep directors on a short leash, so to speak?

[Antonov] The Law on the State Enterprise and recent decisions by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on foreign economic links have created extensive scope for the action of economic levers and have removed bureaucratic barriers. But restructuring is a large, wide-ranging concept; we are not just talking about a system of management, but about people—in this case the director, the people in the managerial apparatus. They are the ones who will have to take on board the whole system of management of foreign economic links and employment of such levers as contract prices, exchange rates, and credit terms. Many are having to start from scratch. In order to help them find their way in the new conditions, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Foreign Economic Ties under the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission recently issued a kind of "ABC:" a memorandum to the director on questions of direct production and scientific and technical links between USSR associations, enterprises, and organizations and partners in other CEMA countries. But this is only the beginning. There is to be thorough vocational training, in various forms, for the different categories of industrial working people.

[Fadeyev] Participants in the *Pravda* international poll on the problems of direct links noted that a number of questions connected with pricing and currency and financial relations remain unresolved, which is hampering adoption in the international sphere of relations based on economic accountability....

[Antonov] The session resolution elaborates a policy of more active utilization of price and currency and financial instruments of cooperation, outlines the areas for future work, and gives instructions to the relevant CEMA bodies.

As for the currency and financial mechanism of cooperation, it takes the line of establishing conditions for strengthening and developing the monetary functions of the transfer ruble so that it meets as far as possible what is required to service direct links and other new forms of cooperation. The experimental use by a group of CEMA couintries of national currencies in paying for goods and services in the context of direct links and the activity of joint enterprises and international associations and organizations, including implementation of targets of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress, will be a new direction in improvement of currency and financial relations.

It was also agreed to study practical questions connected with the stage-by-stage introduction of the transfer ruble's convertibility into freely convertible currencies. But the solution of this difficult task should be sought not not so much in the circulation sphere as in the production sphere. The main thing is to ensure convertibility by producing high-quality goods and increasing exports of them by CEMA countries, in particular outside the community. The sooner we implement this task on a wide scale and secure a prominent place in world trade, the stronger will be the prerequisites for convertibility of the CEMA countries' collective currency abroad.

[Fadeyev] It is customary to talk of the great significance of socialist economic integration. But here is a somewhat "down-to-earth" question prompted by readers' letters: What does it actually give to people? Some complain about the quality of socialist countries' goods, others write about the lack of choice on the shelves....

[Antonov] Integration is a mirror that reflects the state of our economy. In order to have the right to demand high quality of others, you have to achieve the proper standard yourself. You know how difficult many enterprises are finding it to meet the high demands of state acceptance. I will cite one example. At the "Khromatron" Plant in Moscow, they had to suspend production of television tubes for a while because of the poor quality, yet television sets are an important item in our exports of domestic electrical equipment to the fraternal countries. Attainment of reliable high quality is a difficult process, but we must see it through and learn to operate in the new way. The demands on partners will be different then as well. This is the first thing. In the second place, our foreign trade organizations have to make higher demands on one another when purchasing and not take the greatest number of goods at the cheapest price....

[Fadeyev] What changes are expected in the structure and activity of CEMA?

[Antonov] At the working meeting of fraternal parties' leaders last November, it was suggested that sectorial questions which are not of statewide significance would be best decided outside the Council framework. It is envisaged that these questions will be transferred for solution to national sector management bodies and enterprises, in the context of their direct links, and also to international sector organizations.

CEMA's activity will focus on organizing cooperation on questions which have to be solved at interstate level. The Council is concentrating on coordinating the economic and scientific and technical policy of the CEMA countries in areas connected with mutual cooperation. Its attention will also be focused on organizing elaboration and implementation of major programs and agreements such as, for example, the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress and other strategic measures. Finally, it is to carry out work on improving the integration mechanism and helping to devise uniform economic and organizational-legal terms of cooperation. In view of all this, the CEMA structure will be more compact, the multi-tier nature of and parallelism in the work of CEMA will be eliminated, and its Secretariat will be reorganized.

[Fadeyev] So the CEMA structure will be more compact.... Is there a connection here with changes in the management structure in certain community countries?

[Anronov] The economic management structures in the CEMA countries differ pretty substantially. This is due to the scale of the national economy, the areas in which a country specializes, and, finally, established traditions. There is scarcely any justification for reducing the CEMA structure to a "common denominator" geared to the management structures of certain countries.

So when the range of CEMA bodies was being decided on, it was not a matter of mechanically reproducing the sector management structures of the community countries; the criterion was the significance of a particular problem in terms of multilateral cooperation.

[Fadeyev] Finally, Aleksey Konstantinovich: Did the session solve all the questions set at last year's November working meeting of the fraternal parties' leaders?

[Antonov] That was not the task. The main thing was that unity was achieved in the matter of defining goals of restructuring and its main directions. As for resources, in terms of the most urgent questions, particularly those connected with work on coordinating plans for the next 5-year plan and preparation of the collective prospectus for the international socialist division of labor and programs for multilateral cooperation between the European members of CEMA and the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia, we have already decided in principle where they will go. We will be submitting collectively prepared drafts for examination by the next session, the 44th, which will be held next year. It should be noted that the session which just ended deemed it necessary to carry out restructuring of the integration mechanism in stages, taking into account prevailing conditions in the countries' economies and their degree of readiness. Scientists were given assignments on certain questions relating to the more remote future. We expect the fraternal states' scientists to provide clear and precise recommendations on such questions as the gradual formation of conditions for free movement of goods, services, and other elements of production and for creation in the future of a unified market. Certain accords will be implemented right now, sometimes in the form of an experiment. This applies primarily to price and currency and financial instruments. It will also require participation of scientists in order to assess the practical results and on that basis interpret the content of subsequent stages of restructuring of the cooperation mechanism. In short, a great deal of collective work lies ahead....

Economist Interviewed on Convertible Ruble

AU061821 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Nov 87 p 6

[Interview with Professor Vyacheslav Dashichev, doctor of sciences, department head at the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, Moscow, by NOVOSTI commentator Pavel Antonov: "Convertible Ruble?—Perhaps in 5 Years;" place and date of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] "We have found ourselves at a point that is far away from the ideal of the socialist community—direct contacts among our peoples. These contacts could not be realized because the existing system has until now separated the USSR from its CEMA partners by currency, visas, and other barriers. Much remains to be done for the integration of socialist countries to become a reality. One of the main steps on this road is the transformation of closed currencies into mutually convertible ones," Professor Vyacheslav Dashichev, doctor of sciences, department head at the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, said in an interview with Pavel Antonov, commentator of the *Novosti* press agency.

[Antonov] Do you think that this goal can be reached in the foreseeable future?

[Dashichev] I think that it can. If our countries proceed consistently and purposefully in this direction, if they establish a new economic mechanism, and strive to manufacture competitive goods, it may require 5 to 6 years. The task to create exchangeable currencies was set forth as early as 1971. However, as so frequently at that time, the target remained on paper only because no one dared putting his hands on the means of achieving that goal. But this time we have dived into the means....

[Antonov] Commodity exchange is a very old method of the international division of labor. Today it is perhaps the most primitive type of economic cooperation. Still, it continues to be the prevalent form in ties among CEMA countries. How can this be explained?

[Dashichev] It can be explained by the circumstance that immediately after the end of the war when political and economic relations between the USSR and the people's democracies were only being established, we were expanding, first and foremost, mutual trade. This is an explanation, but no justification, of course. [passage omitted]

The gigantic leap in the trade turnover between our countries was a historic success. [passage omitted] Gradually, however, this structure of economic relations ceased to be progressive and, hence, beneficial. What is necessary today—and it would have been necessary even yesterday, if not the day before yesterday—is genuine cooperation in the leading fields of industry and agriculture: engineering, particularly robot technology, microelectronics, and microprocessors, biotechnology, and so forth....

[Antonov] Why have we fallen so far behind? Where is the root? What is the reason for our being a laggard?

[Dashichev] The root lies in the mechanism of integration, which is outdated, based, I would say, on antiquated political-economic ideas. [passage omitted]

This mechanism is based on tough centralism, vertical ties, that is, on command-administrative methods of management. [passage omitted]

This essentially means exclusion from cooperation of enterprises and associations, production collectives, in short, exclusion of the microeconomic level as the basis of the economy. [passage omitted]

Until now, an enterprise in the Soviet Union or Bulgaria has had no incentive to establish cooperation with colleagues from the GDR, Hungary, or Czechoslovakia. The issue now is to create conditions for enterprises to have an economic interest in such cooperation. [passage omitted]

But for us to be able to implement direct ties, for joint ventures with socialist countries to be set up, we lack, in my opinion, the crucial economic prerequisite—a common value equivalent.

[Antonov] What about the transferable ruble, which has been used for years by CEMA countries to clear mutual accounts?

[Dashichev] Regrettably, the transferable ruble does not fulfill this function. It has not become our common currency because it has no real monetary contents; it is not currency in the true sense of the word. The transferable ruble does not express the production costs and, hence, also the actual value of products. It is not a genuine currency unit, but a symbolic one, used for clearing purposes.

Let me cite just one example of proof of this: Several thousand coefficients have been fixed in relation to the transferable ruble for the purpose of mutual clearing! Almost each article has had a coefficient of its own! That is why the present task is to make the currencies of all CEMA countries mutually convertible.

[Antonov] Does this mean, in fact, that I should be able to take rubles to Czechoslovakia, for example, and freely exchange any amount of these rubles for korunas?

[Dashichev] That is right. Also Czechoslovak citizens would be able to travel to the GDR or Hungary and exchange their korunas for marks or forints.

[Antonov] So what is the problem? Why can this not be done today, and why could it not be done 5 or 10 years ago?

[Dashichev] There are many obstacles. First of all, every country has its different way of fixing prices. A group of products that is cheap in Czechoslovakia, for example, is much more expensive in Poland. Given this situation, the free exchange of money would create conditions for transferring merchandise from one country to another. Apart from that, individual countries have disparate levels of labor productivity and, consequently, different wage levels. A rash, directive introduction of the convertability of currencies would bring about many distortions and confusion.

The transition to convertible currencies within the CEMA framework will not be a fast process, and it will not be free of problems. It will require mutual adaptation and coordination of the price systems. But the transition is, of course, inevitable.

Just imagine for a second what the world would look like if each country maintained its own inconvertible currency and its own pricing system, if it erected barriers in the way of mutual cooperation. This would mean medieval isolation. [passage omitted]

Because the international community will not accept such a path, the existing form of our integration cannot serve as an example for the development of mankind. In order to bring to life all processes of mutual cooperation, we will thus have to establish a common equivalent, a common criterion of labor input and product quality, whether we want it or not.

Finally, we will be compelled to admit that the inconvertability of currency is the main obstacle on the way of genuine socialist integration. How can we organize direct ties, for example, or mutual clearing of accounts between enterprises if we lack a uniform measure of value?

[Antonov] Nonetheless, direct ties are being established. The press has reported on a number of examples.

[Dashichev] Of course, we have experience with economically sensible industrial ties. The VAZ automobile plant cooperates, for example, with all socialist countries, including Yugoslavia. The cooperation itself operates quite well, but we pay for it with VAZ products, with cars.

It would have been simpler and more efficient to pay our partners in Soviet currency. [passage omitted] Now they receive a limited type of merchandise and have no choice, which narrows down the scope for economic maneuvering and, consequently, the framework of cooperation ties.

Why could we not introduce convertible currency 5 or 10 years ago? Because it would have been necessary to change the economic mechanism. [passage omitted]

[Antonov] Let us go back to one of the main questions of our interview. Let us assume that the currency of CEMA member countries is exchangeable. How long will it take for it to become convertible also in relation to Western currencies?

[Dashichev] I think that prerequisites for this can arise as early as the next 5-year plan. However, the main condition for the convertability of our currency will be creation of a cohesive economic mechanism governed by commercial-economic methods, high labor productivity, and the competitiveness of our goods. [passage omitted]

CEMA-DRA Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD130850 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1619 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 12 November (TASS)—A protocol was signed here today on the exchange of documents endorsing the 30 January 1987 agreement on cooperation between CEMA and the DRA. It was signed by CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev and Muhammadollah Safi, the DRA ambassador to the USSR.

The agreement on CEMA-DRA cooperation will come into force in 30 days.

CEMA Commerce Officials Confer in Budapest

PM301115 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "CEMA Diary"]

[Text] Budapest, 23 Oct—The 27th congress of chairmen of CEMA countries' chambers of commerce and representatives of the CEMA Secretariat and Yugoslav Economic Chamber ended in Budapest today.

The conference discussed questions relating to the activity of the chambers of commerce in promoting acceleration of scientific-technical progress and further development of forms of foreign economic links among the

CEMA countries, direct links between production associations and enterprises, coproduction, setting up of joint enterprises, and improvement of information activity among the CEMA countries' chambers.

CEMA Express Mail Service To Be Introduced
PM301147 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "CEMA Diary"]

[Text] Prague, 23 Oct—The 32d session of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Sphere of Electrical and Postal Communications has ended in the Czechoslovak city of Gottwaldov with the signing of a final protocol.

Bilateral agreeements were signed at the session on introducing an international express mail service that will considerably speed up deliveries of certain types of mail.

CEMA Biotechnics Commission Session Noted
PM041141 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Commission's Work Completed"]

[Text] Prague, 30 Oct—The third session of the CEMA Standing Commission on Cooperation in the field of biotechnics ended here with the adoption of important documents. It examined tasks stemming from decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session connected with progress in resolving problems of "the accelerated development of biotechnics"—one of the five priority avenues of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' scientific-technical progress through the year 2000.

Over 200 scientific research and planning and design developments extremely necessary to agricultural and industrial production will be completed by scientists from the CEMA countries by 1990, Miroslav Toman, deputy chairman of the CSSR Government and CSSR minister of agriculture, noted in an interview with a TASS correspondent. The success of the work of the commission's session which took place in a businesslike atmosphere and in a spirit of friendship and full mutual understanding lies in the fact that specific decisions were taken to boost the CEMA countries' cooperation in biotechnics to a new level in specialization, sharing, creation of joint biotechnical centers, and establishment of direct links between laboratories and institutes. Thus, for instance, he stressed, new international biotechnical centers will be created in the CSSR and the USSR for plant growing, stockraising, and rice growing, as will an international plant genetic bank and an international animal genoplasm [genoplazma] bank. An accord has been reached on the training of 500 specialist biotechnologists from the CEMA countries at Moscow State University every year.

Shalayev Addresses WFTU Session Opening
LD301416 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest October 29 TASS—The 40th session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has opened here today. Attending the session are representatives of nearly 90 member organizations and organizations which are not incorporated in WFTU from more than 70 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are discussing the tasks of the world trade union movement in resolving the most important problems of the present confronting humanity on the threshold of the third millennium and first and foremost of preservation of peace and elimination of the nuclear threat.

It is stressed at the forum that the discussions at the meetings of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with representatives of the international working class movement, the WFTU delegation and quite recently with the leadership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions covered specific questions of consolidation of various public movements in the fight for humanity's survival and the fundamental rights of the working people.

An exchange of views opened at the general council in a constructive atmosphere on ways of broadening dialogue with trade unions of a different orientation and mass movements. Directions and plans of trade union collaboration before the year 1990 are outlined on such key problems as economic cooperation, defence of the working peoples rights and trade union freedoms, environmental protection.

The delegates to the session are linking prospects for a broadening of ties between the trade unions of East and West with a future agreement between the USSR and the USA on medium-range and shorter-range missiles, the implementation of Mikhail Gorbachev's fresh proposals and big initiatives of the USSR on the implementation of the programme of building a nuclear free world.

The WFTU General Council was addressed by Stepan Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman.

Session Ends 31 Oct
LD311744 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest October 31 TASS—The 40th session of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) General Council, which wound up its work here today, issued an address to the working people and trade unions. It says that the Great October Socialist Revolution was a momentous event of this century, which had a strong impact on the world's development.

The document points out that the sweeping socio-economic transformations now effected in the USSR are a forceful example of the fact that the ideas of the Great October Revolution are being further developed in the Soviet people's endeavours. These transformations are of immense international significance, including to the world trade union movement. The General Council welcomes the fact that the Soviet trade unions are called upon to play an ever more vigorous and responsible role in the restructuring process.

The session of the WFTU General Council discussed the tasks of the world trade union movement in dealing with the all-important issues of our time, first and foremost, those of preserving peace and removing the threat of a nuclear war. The report on the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting was received at the session as a major positive step.

The session adopted resolutions on joint actions in the struggle against the activity of transnational corporations and on the trade unions' tasks in the field of environmental protection.

TU Meeting Held on Solidarity With Koreans

PM101227 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Nov 87 p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent N. Shevtsov: "Solidarity With the People of Korea"]

[Text] Prague, 3 Nov—The International Trade Union Conference of Solidarity with the People of Korea has begun in Prague. More than 130 delegates are taking part. They represent more than 80 national and regional trade union organizations belonging to the WFTU and other international trade union centers. Participants include trade union delegations from the DPRK, South Korea, and Korean working people living in Japan. A Soviet trade union delegation headed by AUCCTU Secretary I.Ye. Klyuchkov is also taking part.

WFTU Secretary Jan Nemoudry delivered a report. He particularly stressed that strengthening of security throughout the Asian region depends in many respects on normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

The conference was addressed by Kim Pong-chu, chairman of the General Confederation of Trade Unions of Korea Central Committee, who spoke about the DPRK's peace proposals.

Information Spokesman Gremitskikh On Issues

Missile Treaty, Summit Plans

LD121611 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—"Soviet-American talks on the preparation of a treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles have entered the most crucial stage", Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing today when answering questions of journalists. The work should be finished before the fixed date. Gremitskikh recalled that, according to the joint Soviet-American report of October 30, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan had agreed to hold a meeting in the United States starting from December 7, this year.

The spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that a duration and a program of the visit were being coordinated by the sides through diplomatic channels. 1 preparatory group led by Vladimir Chernyshev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and head of the Protocol Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, is in Washington already.

According to Gremitskikh, the Soviet-American talks in Geneva are being held for business. Various versions of the situation at the talks published by the Western press are counter-productive. They hamper the concluding of the preparation of the treaty on the elimination of the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

As for a principled Soviet stand on control over the compliance with the treaties that were signed and ratified, the Soviet side has repeatedly pointed out that the USSR favours the strictest possible control, of course, on the basis of reciprocity, Gremitskikh continued. Concrete proposals to this effect have been submitted for the consideration at the Geneva talks.

Denies Missiles Trained on Spain

LD121626 MOSCOW TASS in English 1555 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—The Soviet Union will never use nuclear weapons against countries which do not have such weapons on their territories. The USSR stated its readiness to give appropriate legal guarantees on this score

This was stated at a briefing at the press centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs today by Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Ministry's Information Directorate, in connection with an article in the Spanish Newspaper *Ya* alleging that Soviet missiles are trained on—targets in Spain.

"Why has such a 'sensational' material appeared on the pages of this newspaper precisely now that the whole world looks forward to the forthcoming signing of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles?"

"Apparently the prospect of the first real step in the direction of a nuclear wapon-free world gives no rest to someone. This is why the opponents of detente in international relations decided to resort to a gross lie in order to sow distrust of the Soviet Union and thereby to hamper the disarmament process".

Denies Soviet Troops in Angola

LD121541 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Assertions that Soviet servicemen take a direct part in hostilities jointly with government troops of the People's Republic of Angola are not in keeping with reality, and mean a deliberate provocation. First deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Yuriy Gremitskikh said this at a briefing in the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The stay of Soviet military experts in Angola is limited to rendering assistance to angolans in mastering military equipment.

Pretoria's falsehood has an obvious aim of justifying in some way a direct intervention of the racist regime against the Angolan people, to legalise the so-called "protection of national interests" and outright backing for UNITA bands, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The aggressive policy of the apartheid regime is a source of constant menace to "Frontline" states. It shows that the line of "constructive engagement" and limited sanctions conducted by the USA with regard to the Republic of South Africa does nothing to promote the solution of the problem of southern Africa and a peaceful, independent development of its peoples.

U.S. Hinders DRA Resolution

LD121446 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—"The discussion of issues connected with Afghanistan at the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly reflected the aspiration of a number of members of the international community to direct the discussion into a constructive channel so as to promote the speediest normalisation of the Afghanistan situation", stated a spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"Syria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen", Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, pointed out at a briefing today, "came forward with a new constructive initiative which was aimed at giving a balanced character acceptable to everyone to the Pakistan-sponsored resolution on Afghanistan".

"Without suggesting that something be excluded from the draft resolution, they made amendments to it, calling for strict observance of the principle of non-interfernce with regard to Afghanistan, and welcoming the progress at the Geneva talks on a political settlement".

"With the amendments accepted, the resolution could have been passed by the General Assembly unanimously. The initiative—a reasonable one correponding to the realities of the times and consonant with the positive changes taking place in Afghanistan and around it—encountered a destructive line being pursued at the session by the United States and Pakistan".

"It became clear again who really wants the speediest settlement and the establishment of peace on Afghan soil, and who is busy preventing that and intending to give creater scope to the war and bloodshed there", the Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman said.

"It is regretted in the Soviet Union that a number of states toed the line of the advocates of a military solution to the Afghan problem", he emphasized.

"However, the Soviet Union will continue to do everything depending on it for securing a complete success of the national reconciliation policy and for attaining a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan at an earliest date. The Soviet troops that are in Afghanistan at the invitation of the Afghan Government will be returned home within the framework of such a settlement", Yuriy Gremitskikh said.

Scores U.S. Aid to Afghans

LD121648 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—"The United States and its allies have doubled military and financial aid to extremist Islamic counter-revolutionary groups based in Pakistan since the Afghan leadership proclaimed a course towards restoration of peace and national reconciliation," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, observed that the U.S. propaganda machine had been set working at full speed to justify the Washington administration's efforts to undermine Afghanistan's national reconciliation policy.

"This situation engendered crude fabrications spread by the Voice of America radio station, according to which Soviet soldiers use booby-traps which kill Afghan children.

The VOA should remember that Stinger missiles, supplied by the U.S. to Afghan counter-revolutionaries, were used to shoot down civilian planes and already killed 160 people, including 22 children and 16 women" Gremitskhikh pointed out.

"Dushmans use American-made surface-to-surface rockets to attack Afghan towns, causing numerous casualties among civilians."

The spokesman cited the most recent example when a bomb, planted by dushmans near a big mosque in downtown Kabul, killed 27 people and gravely wounded 30 more.

Dushmans Source of Brutality

LD121849 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] A briefing on current issues on international policy was held today at the USSR Foreign Ministry's press center.

Addressing Soviet and foreign journalists Yuriy Aleksandrovich Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Minstry, said in particular:

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] The 42d session of the UN General Assembly has completed its discussion of questions connected with Afghanistan. The discussion reflected the striving by a number of countries of the world community to direct the deabate into a constructive channel. Syria and the PDRY submitted a fresh initiative aimed at imparting a balanced character, acceptable to everyone, to a resolution on Afghanistan. This sensible initiative, which is in accord with the realities of the times, ran up against the destructive line being pursued at the session by the United States and Pakistan. As for the Soviet Union, it regrets the fact that a number of states followed the lead of the supporters of a military solution to the Afghan problem. However, we shall continue to do everything we can to ensure the complete success of the Afghan policy of national reconciliation and a speediest possible achievement of a political settlement to the situation around Afghanistan.

In this connection I should like to comment on an insinuation that has been made by the Voice of America. One of the most recent editorial commentaries by the Voice of America has once again contained gross lies about the state of affairs in Afghanistan. It contained both charges of brutality by Soviet soldiers, who, it was alleged, are selecting the civilian population as its targets, and also charges that booby-traps are being used, which are, it is claimed, causing the deaths of Afghan children.

In our view it is not fortuitous that the U.S. propaganda machine is spreading these insinuations at this precise time. This is obviously an attempt to justify the efforts of the Washington administration directed at wrecking the policy of national reconciliation that is being pursued by the DRA Government.

In actual fact, since Afghanistan's leadership proclaimed its course of restoring peace inside the country and national concord, the United States and its allies have doubled their military and financial aid to the extremist Islamic counterrevolutionary groupings that are entrenched in Pakistan. Before the end of the current year this aid will reach $1 billion. For what purpose is this aid being poured in? The destruction of a civilian aircraft, which was shot down by U.S. Stinger missiles, resulted in the deaths of 160 persons, including 22 children and 16 women. And take the latest example: A bomb was exploded in the center of Kabul. It had been furtively placed by dushmans outside one of Kabul's big mosques. Twenty-seven died, and 30 persons were gravely injured. One might give hundreds of others examples showing the true source of the brutality in Afghanistan. It is a question of counterrevolutionaries fighting against their own people with the help of evermore refined U.S. weapons. [end recording]

Condemns U.S. Aid for Chad

LD121525 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—"The Soviet Union believes that a territorial controversy between Chad and Libya should be settled by peaceful means with the mediation of the Organization of African Unity, without any outside interference", Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

Answering the question about the decision of the U.S. Administration to deliver Stinger missiles to Chad and about the fact that a group of American instructors are staying in Chad and teaching Chadian servicemen how to handle them, the spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry emphasized that, in the opinion of the USSR, a further internationalization of the conflict between Chad and Libya was impermissible. The Soviet side believes that this decision of the Washington administration creates a dangerous precedent which could lead to the appearance of death-carrying Stinger missiles in other African countries as well, to their spreading all over the continent.

Despite a ceasefire agreement which is in effect today between Chad and Libya, the situaiton continues to be tense in that part of Africa. It is extremely important to refrain from any steps which could kindle again a spark of hostility between the two African countries and again bring about the growth of tension. Yuriy Gremitskhikh said that in this situation the Soviet Union could regard the decision of the U.S. Administration to deliver Stinger missiles to Chad only as evidence of U.S. intentions to again destabilize the situation in the Chadian-Libyan border and to create a threat to Libya on its southern border.

Relations With Japan

LD121456 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—"The Soviet Union does not disregard the fact that the new Japanese leaders in their first remarks and statements stress the importance of relations with the USSR for Japan, and express willingness to apply effort to develop them," Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry of Information Directorate, told a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today.

"Taking into account this and the fact that a number of joint actions are expected in the near future in some practical areas of bilateral ties, we would like to look with optimism at prospects of the further development of Soviet-Japanese relations," said the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Envoy to Vienna on UN Afghanistan Resolution

AU121354 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 12 Nov 87 p 2

[Excerpt] Vienna—Gennadiy Shikin, Soviet Ambassador to Austria, told the Austrian Foreign Ministry in Ballhausplatz on Monday [9 November] that Moscow intends to support the UN resolution on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. There are two conditions for this move: nonintervention from the outside, and recognition of the achievements of the Afghanistan Conference in Geneva to date. After numerous demands for changes, the UN General Assembly retreated to the original text of the resolution as outlined by the nonaligned states, which demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops and the right to self-determination of the Afghan people. On Tuesday the text was adopted by 123 votes, which is the highest ever number of votes; 19 states, in particular the East Bloc states, abstained. [passage omitted]

UN Committee on Banning Chemical Weapons

LD130700 Moscow TASS in English 2122 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 12 TASS—On the proposal of a large group of states, the First U.N. General

Assembly Committee today adopted a host of draft resolutions on chemical and bacteriological (Biological) weapons. It called for giving fresh impetus to the efforts aimed at a total and effective ban of the development, production and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons and at their destruction.

The First Committee gave support to further initiatives for promoting the atmosphere of trust and sincerity at the talks on concluding a relevant convention. The conference on disarmament is urgently suggested taking energetic efforts to work out this convention within the shortest possible time.

United States & Canada

Lithuanian Soviet Protests U.S. Distortions

LD121733 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Vilnius November 12 TASS—The Supreme Soviet (parliament) of Lithuania has issued a statement in protest against attempts by members of the U.S. Congress and by other state figures at distorting the historical facts and at weakening the Lithuanian people's friendship with the other peoples of the Soviet Union.

The statement is published in the newspapers of this Baltic republic today.

"Such actions," the statement says, "do not accord with the peoples' aspiration for relaxation of tension, for the building of mutual trust, and cooperation, and give rise to legitimate indignation of the Lithuanian people."

The parliamentarians recall that as far back as 1918 the Lithuanian people chose a socialist system. They reaffirmed their political choice in 1940 when the fascist regime was overthrown. The national Soviet statehood and the socialist system were proclaimed at that time not just by someone but by the republic's people's sejm (parliament) which was elected constitutionally on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. At that time 95.5 per cent of the electorate expressed their will. What in such case prompts U.S. Congress members not to agree with the decisions of the republic's supreme power body and to assert that the restoration of the Soviet power in Lithuania and its joining the Soviet Union do not ostensibly reflect the interests of the Lithuanian people and are unlawful?

"In our view," the statement emphasizes, "such a stand shows an obvious unwillingness of certain circles to put up with the historical truth. This is none other than an attempt at using the so-called Baltic states issue for purposes hostile to our people and to the socialist system chosen by them."

Murakhovskiy Receives U.S. Businessman

LD122012 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee of the USSR, today received Dwayne Andreas, co-chairman of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council and chairman of the board of Archer Daniels Midland Co., at his request.

They examined specific issues of Soviet-American cooperation in the field of agro-industrial production. The conversation was constructive in character and was held in an atmosphere of good will.

Cooperation Agreement With U.S. Engineers

LD122309 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—An agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the American Society of Mechanical Engineers (ASME) was signed in the academy's presidium today.

Asme President Richard Rosenberg referred to this act as a historic landmark in cooperation between Soviet and American specialists in the field of mechanics.

"The alliance of Soviet researchers and American engineers", he said, "is not just a sum total of components or an aggregate of new scientific ideas and up-to-date technologies. This is the sure way towards reasonable expenditure of intellectual resources of our two countries".

Konstantin Frolov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who signed the agreement on behalf of the academy, emphasized that Soviet scientists enthusiastically regarded ASME's cooperation offer.

"Contacts between specialists, exchanges of information and the holding of joint scientific conferences are a reliable means for more effective utilisation of the achievements of science and technology for the benefit of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States".

"In prospect", Academician Konstantin Frolov said, "the three-year agreement may be supplemented—the matter concerns the possibility of organizing joint scientific laboratories and teams in future to work out topical problems of modern science and technology: in the field of new materials, new energy sources, and in ecology".

Irangate Commission Proves Unlawful Actions

LD122335 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—TASS news analyst Dmitriy Yakubov writes:

The investigation of the "Irangate" by a U.S. Congressional commission is known to have been conducted in such a way as to hear the key figures of the illegal operations twice. This produced definite results. Trying to evade the responsibility, witnesses gave conflicting testimony, contradicted each other and also their previous statements. Although the hearings produced a rather inconsistent picture, the unlawful nature of actions by those implicated in the scandal was undoubtedly proved. It was established as indisputably that the key operatives of the "Irangate" were confident that their actions did not run counter to President Reagan's views.

At the same time, one should give due to White House officials: They were persistent in their attempts to deflect direct responsibility for their actions from the President, alleging that they acted at their own risk.

One could believe that if facts calling in doubt such statements were not revealed during the hearings. The point at issue is the deletion of crucial classified documents which reflected acts by White House officials on all aspects of the "Irangate" affair.

Its key figure — Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North — confirmed in Congress that he destroyed the documents relevant to weapons sales to Iran and aid to the Nicaraguan contras in October and November 1986 when he learnt that Attorney General Edwin Meese intended to launch a criminal probe into those actions.

Meese's widely touted intention to begin an investigation served as a pretext for deleting classified documents also by John Poindexter, former assistant to the President for national security affairs, who shredded the top secret memorandum of the President of 1985 and a number of other secret documents kept in the safes of his assistant and lawyer and not mentioned by him.

Fawn Hall, former secretary of Lieutenant Colonel North, and Robert Earl, his deputy, told the Congressional commissions that both of them helped North rather actively in shredding the documents.

In the light of a mass destruction of classified documents relevant to the "Irangate", about whose content one can only guess, the claim that President Reagan was kept in the dark about the unlawful activities of his staffers arouses serious doubts. More, one can assume with sufficient ground that the shredding of classified documents pursued primarily the objective of deflecting the blame from the President and not giving legal grounds for charging him with responsibility for what had happened. The Congressional commission found that White House staffers had actually set up a "secret government within a government" which illicitly sold arms to Iran and financed the Nicaraguan contras. The commission had enough evidence to reach such a conclusion.

Kissinger Article 'Undermines' Disarmament

PM101125 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Za Rubezhom* in Russian No 44, 30 October-5 November, signed to press 29 October 1987, carries on pages 8-9 under the headline "Their Views and Arguments" a reprint of a Henry Kissinger *Newsweek* article entitled "NATO: New Times," prefaced by the following *Za Rubezhom* introduction: "The world has welcomed the prospect of a Soviet-U.S. accord on the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles, hoping that it will begin a historic turnaround from the arms race to disarmament. But such a possibility has evoked alarm in extreme right-wing circles in the United States and West Europe, who fear that the abatement of tension in the world will entail a decline in their influence and reveal the reactionary nature and historic bankruptcy of their course toward confrontation with the Soviet Union. They have unleashed a frenzied campaign against the Soviet-U.S. accords and have enlisted the most experienced propagandists for it. One of them is Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state, whose article we are publishing."

Za Rubezhom follows this article on page 9 with an article by V. Iordanskiy under the rubric "Our Commentary": "The Thoughts of an Atom Bomb Worshipper" which reads as follows:

"Henry Kissinger is well known in our country, which he visited more than once in the capacity of U.S. President R. Nixon's national security assistant and then as U.S. secretary of state. But when his political career came to an end, the former diplomat vigorously took up his pen. He is less well known in our country as a journalist."

"The author of the article, which we have printed with slight abridgements, appears in it as a man of extremely right-wing views. He expounds his thoughts with energetic conviction of his own rectitude. Moreover he is distinguished by a certain breadth of approach to the problems of war and peace. He formulates a carefully conceived system of arguments against nuclear disarmament and of ways of strengthening NATO. There is no doubt that his opinions will be seized upon by other journalists and repeated in dozens, if not in hundreds, of articles. Many of those who would like to foil the process of reducing military tension on the European Continent will turn to him for inspiration. Yes, and not only on the European Continent."

"Nonetheless, what a lot of banality, juggling of facts large and small, and hypocritical rhetoric this article contains instead of well-considered, calm evaluations!"

"It would seem that a man of H. Kissinger's stature must evaluate soberly the processes taking place in the world and face up to the truth. The first thing that strikes you upon reading his article is, however, the peculiar, seemingly twisted logic of his arguments."

"Of course, we must not take the author's statements about U.S. 'ingenuousness and idealism' completely seriously. They may provoke only a skeptical smile even in the friendly reader. But Washington's financing of the Nicaraguan 'Contras,' its support for the South African racists against freedom-loving Angola, and the squadrons of war off Iranian shores—not to delve too deeply into history—force us to doubt H. Kissinger's sincerity also when he speaks of America as a 'beacon for oppressed peoples.'"

"These propaganda fits of the author probably demand indulgence. In the final analysis they are not the main thing. He leads us on to the main question when he begins to discuss the relations between the United States and its NATO allies. His thought that arms reduction and, especially, the prospect of eliminating nuclear weapons are fraught... with a threat to European security is made fully evident here."

"The Reykjavik meeting, where the possibility of a sharp reduction in strategic offensive armaments became distinctly apparent, was for this reason supposedly perceived as a 'shock' by the United States' West European partners. The Europeans, according to H. Kissinger, have allegedly never believed in the deterrent force of conventional armaments, and the removal from European territory of U.S. medium- and short-range missiles just heightens their feeling of fear. You would think that people in West Europe really worship the U.S. atom bomb!"

"The artificiality of these arguments is obvious. The incessant movements throughout West Europe and in the United States itself demanding an end to the buildup of the nuclear pyramid disprove them. Of course, for circles gambling on the arms race and professing blind hatred for our country, Reykjavik was a real blow. But we will not exaggerate their significance. On the other hand, for millions of people throughout the world Reykjavik is associated with the hope for stable security, the prospect of which began to open up there."

"But what about the comment that the U.S. missiles served as a 'corset' holding the FRG in the Western framework? It is even embarrassing to prove that this claim is sharply at variance with historical truth, for its falsehood is so obvious."

"H. Kissinger's central thought is that the Soviet-U.S. accords on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons have provoked a crisis of confidence in NATO with regard to the United States. But is this so?"

"The West European and U.S. press has published many reports in recent years about outbursts of disagreement in the Atlantic alliance. The aggressive policy of the United States has frequently provoked both bewilderment and indignation in West European capitals. The armed intervention in Grenada and the bombings of Libyan cities, like some other actions on the part of the U.S Administration, forced West Europeans to ponder again and again the limits of their solidarity with the United States and to dissociate themselves from the latter's most dangerous actions."

"West European countries have played a markedly positive role in deterring U.S aggressiveness. Their governments have recently supported the Soviet-U.S. accords, and moreover in a number of cases they supported them very vigorously. In particular, the FRG Government assisted the resolution of the Pershing-1A problem. This had a favorable impact on the course of the Soviet-U.S. talks."

"To all appearances the arguments about a crisis in NATO were needed by the author only in order to stir up once again West European fears of the notorious 'Soviet peril.' He asserts that this crisis will create a gulf between West Europe and the United States which will enable the Soviet Union to threaten West Europe separately without involving the United States."

"In itself this argument holds little conviction for anyone now that West European public opinion is becoming increasingly aware of the honesty of our peace-loving endeavors. Aside, of course, from for those who are ready and willing to believe it."

"Besides, it is obvious that military conflict between East and West cannot be localized but will inevitably affect all the members of the two blocs. Under the present system of military alliances, the security of the members of each is interlinked and indissoluble. Whipping up alarm, H. Kissinger exclaims rhetorically: 'Will any country run the risk of national suicide for the sake of an ally, albeit a very close ally?'"

"If a Soviet journalist had asked such a question H. Kissinger would probably have accused him of attempting to drive a wedge between the United States and its NATO allies. But is he not himself slandering his adoptive homeland, which he has only just sworn to love and cherish, and which he is now ready to suspect of cowardice and almost of betraying its allies?"

"What are the prospects for the cause of disarmament? In H. Kissinger's opinion the elimination of nuclear weapons in the world is impossible and thus irresponsible. He writes that it is difficult to ensure that all the weapons have been destroyed. Moreover one cannot be rid of the knowledge of how to manufacture these weapons again. Finally, the possibility that they could be manufactured in secret must be taken into consideration."

"These arguments are serious. They confirm that nuclear disarmament will demand tremendous efforts and intense work from all members of the world community, not only from the USSR and the United States, but they by no means prove that the prospect of nuclear disarmament is impracticable.

H. Kissinger counterposes to this his own alternative: The United States must reexamine its approach to its West European allies, the former secretary of state affirms. He writes in alarm that turning central Europe into a nuclear-free zone will open the floodgates to 'neutralism' and will encourage repudiation of the first-strike doctrine. This possibility makes the author shudder."

"West Europe, he states, faces a dilemma: neutralism or joint defense. He demands that the United States support those forces who favor the nuclear arms race. Otherwise, he threatens the administration with the loss of allies carried away by the currents of 'neutralism.'"

"These fears, warnings, and proposals—everything is imbued with the desire not to permit a turnaround in Europe and the world toward the conclusive resolution of such chronic, sensitive problems as disarmament, security, and cooperation. Reading H. Kissinger's article, you become particularly aware of the acute importance of the peace-loving Soviet initiatives and the force of resistance that the new thinking has to overcome in the international arena. Nonetheless different times are coming, something that even H. Kissinger recognizes. In particular he points out, not without bitterness and alarm, that internal political support for situating U.S. missiles has disappeared in all West European countries, and this is understandable.

People want to regard the world and its future not in fear but in hope.

China

Moscow Roundtable Discusses CPC Congress

LD101744 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Roundtable Discussion titled "The 13th Congress of the CPC: Problems and Development Prospects in the PRC" presented by Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants—not further identified—with TASS Political Observer Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov and All-Union Radio Foreign Policy Commentator Boris Vasilyevich Andrianov]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, comrades! The recent 13th CPC Congress, the important political and economic processes that are taking place today in the PRC, and numerous letters from our listeners asking for more detailed information about that country—including Galina Ostapenko from Odessa, Pavel Oblasov from Minsk, Yekaterina and Nikolay Konobko from the settlement of Lesokefar, Zelenogorskiy rayon, Stavropol Kray—all this determined the choice of topic for our special roundtable today. Before making a start on this, however, I shall introduce those taking part in the program: TASS Political Observer Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, who has just returned from a trip to People's China, and is ready to share his impressions; and my colleague Boris Vasilyevich Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign policy commentator, who is a China specialist and who worked there in the early fifties and was, so to speak, at the very source of formation of a new life for the ancient country. So, let us get down to work.

The 13th CPC Congress took place 25 October-1 November at the Grand Hall of the People's Assembly in Peking, with 1,953 delegates taking part. Zhou Ziyang, who was at that time acting general secretary, delivered a CPC Central Committee review report, "Advance Along the Road of Socialism," on the 1st day of work of the Chinese Communists' forum. In the 9 years that have elapsed since the reforms started to be carried out in China, he pointed out, the face of the country has undergone a profound change: a start has been made on resolving the very acute problems that have troubled working people for many years. Since 1978, the gross product and financial revenues of the state have virtually doubled; the average incomes of townsfolk and rural dwellers have also doubled. Today, China's 1 billion-plus population—at the end of last year, the population there numbered 1,046 million, may I remind you - today, as Zhou Ziyang stressed, the overwhelming majority of China's population does not go hungry, and is clothed and shod. In the main, an end has been put to the acute shortage of consumer goods, and the unemployment problem is being successfully solved. The PRC national economy has set out on the path of assured and harmonious development, and stably at that. It should be said without exaggeration that the changes which have taken place over the last 9 years in the life of the Chinese working people have yielded obvious successes.

[Andrianov] Delivering the CPC Central Committee review report at the congress, Zhou Ziyang at the same time literally stated the following: It should clearly be seen that there are still a very large number of problems and difficulties ahead of us. We must look all this right in the eye and take fundamental measures. This was openly and honestly stated, despite evident successes in the country's socioeconomic development. For, according to absolute indicators of industrial and agricultural production, the PRC today is among the top 10 countries in the world. China is a leading producer of grain, cotton, cotton fabrics, cement, and oil; it is in fourth place for smelting steel, fifth for generating electricity, and sixth for oil extraction and sugar production. If one compares the figures for 1949, grain production in the country is up almost 3.5 times, cotton production nearly 8 times; coal extraction has increased 27 times, and electricity production 100 times, while steel smelting has increased 325 times. Of course, one should not fail to take into account that the economic indicators achieved are related to the low starting level of development. Nevertheless, the dynamic nature assumed by the PRC national economy in the mid-seventies is clearly in evidence.

At the same time, however, China does not rank among the top 100 countries in terms of per capita gross national product: This amounts to about $300 per annum. In terms of the so-called quality of life, China is in about 70th place in the world. Even though in the last 8 years since the reforms were begun, as Nikolay Ivanovich said, the GNP and the average incomes of the working people doubled, there still remains the problem of overcoming poverty in a number of rural regions.

[Kornilov] This can be illustrated through figures in the Chinese press, which reports that there are almost 100 million people in China whose incomes are below 200 yuan per annum, and the problem of providing food and clothing for 40 million of them has still not been resolved. What is more, not only the inhabitants of the traditionally poor mountainous regions are involved here.

[Agayants] Yes, the problems and prospects of development of the Chinese villages were a special focus of attention for the delegates at the 13th CPC Congress, during the discussion of the review report. One can understand why: because agriculture is the basis of China's national economy. People's living standards currently depend on this. As we have already said here, the overwhelming majority of the country's population does not go hungry: For China, this is a most gratifying fact. It is thanks to the increase in agricultural production that such an achievement has been possible. Furthermore, the rate at which this increase was achieved was pretty rapid. Between 1979 and 1984 it was 5% per year; this is twice the rate characteristic of the preceding 20 years.

[Andrianov] But at the same time, it was pointed out at the congress that in the last 2 years, the rate of increase of grain production has slowed down. Last year, for instance, about 390 million tonnes were gathered in, while this year it is reckoned that 5 or 6 million tonnes more will be obtained. Even so, it is less than 3 years ago. This is giving rise to serious problems for the Chinese economy as a whole.

What is going on, then? Of course, unfavorable weather conditions play a certain role here. But not only weather conditions are having the effect of slowing down the rate at which grain production is rising. The fact that, probably, the first advantages derived from the transfer to family contracting in the Chinese countryside have now been exhausted, is considered to be reflected in this phenomenon. It is therefore necessary now—it was stated at the congress—to continue to seek ways to bring about a stable and balanced increase in agricultural production. This is an extremely important task, but an equally difficult one. In China only one-third of all arable land gives high yields, while two-thirds are in need of improvement. But this requires huge material and money resources. Nor should one discount the fact that the area of cultivated land in China every year shrinks by 400,000 hectares: This is swallowed up by sites for new industrial projects, housing construction, and transportation links. All this, of course, further complicates the package of problems existing in agriculture.

[Agayants] We have already pointed out, however, that the domestic economic situation in the PRC is distinguished by the fact that it is highly dynamic. At the same time, the contradictory nature of economic development of People's China is noticeable. On the one hand, there is an evident increase in the rate of production of many types of industrial output, and especially agricultural output: The domestic market has livened up in the country, and the population's earnings are growing. On the other hand, however, elements of haphazardness in economic development can be observed. Retail prices are soaring. This year, for instance, they rose by more than 9%, which naturally aroused dissatisfaction on the part of the working people and concern on the part of the government.

The perceptible stratification of Chinese society according to income level is another contradictory phenomenon in China's socioeconomic life. Such a differentation in terms of property is capable of introducing specific nuances into the process of China's economic development. This, to judge from all events, is also becoming a subject of concern for the Chinese leadership.

[Kornilov] The socioeconomic backwardness inherited from the past, the low living standards of the population, and the very size of the population—a whole billion—are still making themselves felt both economically and politically in China. It was therefore reemphasized at the 13th CPC congress that the PRC is currently at the stage of initial construction of socialism; by the end of the century, it is planned to reach a level of medium sufficiency. This means that by the year 2000, the production of the GNP is supposed to increase to approximately $1,000 per capita per annum. The reform of the Chinese economy is being carried out precisely in order to attain the set goals. The essence of these transformations, the official documents state, consists in trying to bring the economic mechanism into accord with the existing level of development of productive forces. Such a course is considered in China to accord with the task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The phrase means taking careful account of the characteristic features of present-day China, that is, the whole complex of economic, political, cultural, historical, demographic, and other features of that country, with all their strong and weak aspects.

[Agayants] I have noticed that the CPC Central Committee report to the 13th congress stressed that the party's fundamental line at the given historical stage is the drive to transform the PRC into a flourishing, powerful, democratic, civilized, and modern socialist state. That is how you noted it, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, in your reporter's notebook.

How are the new tendencies in the economy, the domestic policy line, and the daily life of the average Chinese manifested? After all, the documents adopted at the congress stressed that—and I quote—the restructuring underway in the PRC has led to important progress in the social and political life of Chinese society. The cohesion and unity of the multinational state have been strengthened, there has been a perceptible improvement in public order, construction of socialist democracy is unfolding, and spiritual culture has been given a powerful boost. Active quest and experiment have become the spirit of the era; that is, according to the assessment contained in the report, socialist reform in the PRC in both the economic and political mechanisms, if the breadth and depth of the changes it has brought about are referred to, represents yet another revolution.

[Kornilov] In this connection, I would recall first of all what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev says in *"Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World,"* his recently published book: In China, he notes, productive ideas which are very interesting in many ways, are being implemented in the process of the four modernizations. As for my personal impressions, well, there are a lot of these, and here are just a few details. The reforms in China are known to have started in agriculture, and the results they have had can be judged by data such as the following: 1984 saw a record grain crop harvest in China, 407 million tonnes; the harvest fell somewhat in 1986 to 390 million tonnes but meat, wool, and milk production rose by 10%. How was this achieved? The answer is no secret. The whole point is that the leftist experiment of creating what were called communes—the principles of rigorous levelling and utter ignorance of objective economic laws—were replaced by a system of contractual responsibility, which, incidentally, already embraces 98% of peasant families and is aimed at widely developing and stimulating a commodity economy orientated at the socialist market.

The results of such economic management, as has already been said, are impressive, although there must be no forgetting the excessively low starting point from which these results have been achieved. The system of family contracting is, however, also giving rise to serious problems. I have been to the heart of China, to the country's granary, Sichuan Province. I asked one of the peasants: "Lu, could you get a sharp increase in yield on your allotment?" "How?" he says, astonished. "You've seen for yourself. There's rice here, cabbages over there, radishes and beans there, a pigsty. Every inch of land has already been cultivated by my own hands and by those of my wife and children." He is right.

His farm is in model condition. But as for marketing and yield, his family virtually has already reached, or is about to reach, the limits of what is possible. In order for yield to increase fundamental changes are needed: a sharp reduction in the proportion of manual labour, mechanization, the use of chemicals, construction of irrigation facilities, and so forth. A transition, in a word, to modern forms and methods of running that farm.

How, though, is this to be done on a small plot? It means, if you look into the future, that family contracting is not going to be enough. Other forms of contracting—and many of those I spoke to in China agreed with me on this, by the way—are required: section contracting, team contracting. Incidentally, in a number of areas in the country, these forms are already being introduced, but it has to be said that, it seemed to me, cooperative forms of farming are sometimes being introduced relatively slowly.

[Agayants] Where is the essence of the matter?

[Kornilov] Well, the communes, which, incidentally were more reminiscent of armed barracks than communes, discredited the very idea of cooperatives in the eyes of many peasants and gave rise to a mood of a certain caution toward measures from above. But representatives of the authorities and party leaders are trying in all sorts of ways to underline that they are taking into account the desires and mood of the peasants. They believe with full justification that cooperative forms of farming should be introduced without pressure, on fully voluntary principles, only where and when the peasants themselves have acknowledged the advantage and logic of such forms.

[Andrianov] We have already mentioned that the population of China is more than 1 billion people. Thus, every fifth person on our planet lives in that country. This fifth of mankind has only 7% of the world's arable land. Moreover, China's rural population currently amounts to more than 80% of all inhabitants of the country, 800 million plus, and more than twice as many as 30 years ago. Then, incidentally, there were about two-thirds of a hectare per able-bodied person in rural localities. Now there is little more than 0.25 hectares. I have given these figures to explain that China's countryside today is becoming crowded from the agricultural point of view, especially since the substitution of the rigid commune system by the flexible system of family contracting. It is precisely now, when the Chinese peasant has really opened up on the land, when the efficiency of his economic activity has increased, that an excess of manpower has emerged in all its force in the countryside. A vast army of what are called superfluous people has formed there. The economists come up with various figure but most often give 200 million.

[Agayants] But, this question is, of course, a very complex one, Boris Vasiliyevich. After all, the Chinese towns cannot provide this entire army with work at least, not for the moment, in spite of the rapid growth rate of the country's economy. Here is what Chinese experts have calculated. In order to create one workplace at a state industrial enterprise in a town, at least 14,000 yuan must be invested in capital assets. That is still not all the expenditure. If a vast mass of peasants are to be transferred to the towns, a minimum of 10,000 yuan will have to be spent on each family to provide housing, transport, and other services. You can work out the astronomic sum needed for the move of 200 million rural inhabitants to the towns from the countryside.

[Andrianov] But the Chinese leadership has found a way out, and what is more, within the framework of the same economic reform, and let us say directly, it is a fairly radical way out, taking into account the specific conditions of China. It consists of setting up local industry in rural areas, which is growing rapidly. Small enterprises are appearing in the regions, provinces, and settlements.

Some of them make construction materials, some process agricultural produce, others make tools, spare parts, various devices, consumer goods, still others provide transportation and other services. In some places, such local industry enterprises have already got to grips with production of component parts for large factories in the industrial centers. What is, perhaps, important to point out, is that these facilities are being built in rural localities with peasants' money. They have accumulated considerable resources, thanks to the economic reform, and are ready to invest them profitably in the business. Work places have gone to 80 million rural inhabitants at such enterprises, that is, 20% of all manpower in the Chinese countryside. By the year 2000, it is believed that rural industry will be able to provide 200 million people with work. That is half the labor resources of the Chinese countryside.

[Kornilov] I think that in speaking about reforms in China, it is worth saying a few words about the services sphere, too, or everyday services, to use our own term. The handbook of Chinese folk sayings and proverbs contains the following adage: If you do not know how to smile, then never open a store. When you are in Beijing of Shangai or any other Chinese city and you go into a shop, you feel as though the sales staff really have taken this advice to heart. As a rule, you are served not just quickly but with a warm and welcoming smile. It is the same at the barber's at the repair shop, at the restaurant.

What is the secret here? It certainly is not just a question simply of traditional Chinese courtesy. I was given the following figures at the *Xinhua* agency: More than 5,000 enterprises in the public catering and everyday services area have gone over to the contract-leasing system in Beijing, including many major department stores. This means that an individual, a family, or a collective concludes a leasing agreement with the state for 2 or 3 or even a 5-year period covering a particular trading enterprise or buffet or barber's shop, say; it pays the state a fixed tax in accordance with the agreement, and it runs the operation independently on the principle that the better the enterprise works and the more purchases and customers it has, the higher will be their incomes and the greater the resources left over for expanding the business and for improving the social conditions of the workers.

That is to say, the direct interest of the worker has been made paramount. Opened up before him is a fairly wide field for the application of his initiative and enterprise. Does this contract-leasing system give rise to any problems? Yes, it does. It seems to me, for example—and the Chinese with whom I have talked agree with me on this—that one can hardly regard it as normal for a worker at one of the barber shops in the capital which has been leased out, with whom I once had a conversation in Beijing, earns more, it turns out, than does a steelworker in the same city. The question of how one is to get rid of distortions of this kind is one of many questions that arise in the course of the reforms. As the Chinese comrades say, so far answers have not been found to anything like all of these questions. The main direction, however, and the main goal—that of achieving a situation in which every worker, no matter what sector he works in, has a direct interest in the end results of his labor, in the amount and the quality of it,—of itself this direction is without any doubt a correct and fruitful one.

[Agayants] We ought to discuss in greater detail another aspect of the reforms taking place in the PRC. The report by Zhao Ziyang contained proposals for greater rights and independence in the taking of decisions to be granted to local state and party bodies, which, as it was noted, would serve as a reliable means for overcoming negative consequences of excessive concentration of power and bureaucratism. The course of continuing the reforms had an effect upon the 13th congress of the CPC and on the solution of the cadres issue. First and foremost, this was reflected in the fact that the forum of the Chinese Communists led to a considerable reduction in the age of the party's leadership.

[Andrianov] Bringing in younger cadres is a completely natural process. This is something to which the Chinese press drew attention before the start of the 13th CPC Congress. It pointed out that it was necessary to urge on the restructuring of the cadre system in order to ensure successful implementation of the reform of the economic system and the political structure in the country. It is understandable, therefore, that a vital problem of this kind should have become a subject for discussion at the congress.

[Agayants] Judging by information published in the Chinese press, it was a question of very fundamental changes in this field. For example, it was said that it is essential for new steps to be taken during such a restructuring of cadres in a direction which envisages abolition of the system of life-long tenure of their posts by leading workers. In this connection, it was noted that there was an urgent need for the system of elections and appointment and recruitment of leaders to be improved further; for the periods during which they hold their authority to be defined; and for rational promotion and retirement to be promoted.

[Andrianov] In setting out the principles of cadre policy, the Chinese press stresses that more attention ought to be given to the actual results of the work of each particular leader. Healthy competition ought to be encouraged between cadre workers, and democratic and public supervision of their activity should be carried out. The stake is being placed not simply on young people but on those who are best equipped with special knowledge and who posses preferential, businesslike qualities.

[Kornilov] In this connection I am going to quote one of the leading articles in *Renmin Ribao*. A number of party members and senior party workers, the newspaper writes, have been unable at the present historic turning-point to sort out the essence of the changes that are taking place. So far they have been unable to free themselves from the blinders of ultra-left ideology. They doubt the lines of the Central Committee in the countryside and in industry, calling them deviations from socialism and the propagation of capitalism. End quote. Many Chinese comrades have talked to me in approximately these terms during meetings in China, too. For example, Yang Rudai, secretary of the party committee of Sichuan, one of the provinces, and a delegate to the 13th Congress, said this during a conversation: We have achieved a great deal, that is a fact. But if one is to be objective, one cannot fail to mention the fact that every step forward is the result of difficult struggle.

What are the factors and what are the forces hampering the reform? In the opinion of the man I was talking to, there are three such main factors: in the first place, the so-called middle link of cadre workers, officials who have found themselves comfortable spots in large numbers of institutions and departments, and who perhaps really did render some service in the past but who today, in considerable numbers, have no interest in changes because they are used to command-bureaucratic methods of work, and fear that they might find themselves overboard as a result of the reforms; in the second place there are people with ultra left-wing views who got onto the stage on the troubled waters of the Cultural Revolution and who still long for the days when they held unbridled power in their provinces, districts, and regions. The man I was talking to said that even now he sometimes had occasion to enter into heated discussion with people who state that Mao spent the whole of his live moving towards creation of the communes, yet you have destroyed them in a matter of days, adding to all this that individual and family contracting are supposedly nothing other than the decollectivization of the countryside and almost kowtowing to capitalism; and finally the third group of opponents who overtly or covertly oppose the reforms, the dogmatists who consider that the edifice of socialism has already been built and that all changes are superfluous.

[Agayants] I think that it is time we added up the results of our discussion of the reform process in China. The significance of the experience of this reform runs far beyond the confines of that country alone. Their experience without a doubt enriches in a worthwhile way the practice of construction and further improvement of socialism, for many of the forms and methods of economic management which have been put forward in China were worked out in theory and used in part in other countries of socialism. Take, for example, the idea of complete financial autonomy, the idea of expanding the sphere of commodity-money relationships while preserving to a certain extent the system for centralized capital investment under new economic conditions, stepping up the use of profit, and many other ideas.

[Andrianov] In their very essence, the reforms and economic experiments in the PRC are nothing other than an attempt to find a reply to a wide spectrum of issues, the balance between public sector production according to the plan and according to the market, implementing the principle of democratic centralism in organization of production, of the centralized plan and of financial autonomy at the enterprises under the specific conditions of China.

[Agayants] Yes, of course, and like any quest these reforms do not always give the rapid and desired effect everywhere and in every respect. Not infrequently, they create conditions for making serious new contradictions, and sometimes they even lead to negative side effects. This is seen by the Chinese party and state bodies, and they are striving to find the optimum solutions. Confirmation of this is to be found in the results of the recent 13th CPC Congress.

At this point, we conclude our special roundtable meeting. All those who have been taking part in it thank you for your attention, esteemed comrade listeners. Goodbye, and all the very best to you.

Gromyko Receives PRC Delegation

PM111709 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To Develop Relations Between the Soviet Union and China"]

[Text] Relations between two neighboring socialist states,the USSR and the PRC, must be developed and strengthened. That, in the view of both sides, was the pivotal idea of a conversation between Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and Zhang Wenjin, head of the PRC delegation to the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October and chairman of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries.

The meeting was held 10 November in the Kremlin, where the eminent Chinese guest was received, accompanied by the PRC ambassador in the USSR, Yu Hongliang.

The Chinese delegation came to the October festivities at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Welcoming the Chinese guests, Comrade Gromyko said that the Soviet Union was pleased to see the delegation during the momentous days of the Great October, having come to Moscow from Beijing for that occasion. The very fact of the Chinese delegation's participation in our festivities is of great importance. Zhang Wenjin asked to convey to the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people ardent congratulations on the glorious festival of the USSR, the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The parade and demonstration of 7 November on Red Square in Moscow and then a 2-day stay in the city of Lenin, the cradle of the revolution, made a great impression on the Chinese delegation. Leningrad, as the guest put it, made an immense contribution to the triumph of Great October and achieved a feat during the years of the Great Patriotic War. It is also an example of good work in the restoration and development of the national economy. In other words, this city is a concentrated expression of the successes of the Soviet people. The October festival is your festival. At the same time, it is our festival, too, a festival for all of progressive mankind, the Chinese guest said.

China celebrates this holiday together with the Soviet people. Our two great countries share a long common border. Our peoples have supported each other throughout history.

The Chinese people have friendly feelings for the Soviet people. Zhang Wenjin stressed that his country wants to normalize relations with the Soviet Union. Such a normalization will benefit both peoples, peace, and stability. It is gratifying to see that in the past few years an improvement has been noted in relations between the two countries. Contacts are developing especially well in the field of economics, trade, cultural, tourism, and sporting exchange. Much is being done in this direction by the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries.

The PRC is directing its efforts to building socialism in the specific Chinese context. A program of further activity on this road was adopted at the recently held 13th CPC Congress. On behalf of the Chinese leadership, Zhang Wenjin expressed gratitude to the Soviet leadership for the greetings to the 13th CPC Congress.

On behalf of the Chinese people, the guest wished Soviet people successes in their work of restructuring. He said that as a representative of the Friendship Association, he considers it a duty of his mission to sow the seeds of friendship, to promote improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations, and elimination of difficulties on the road to their development. The foundation for these relations are the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

In reply to Zhang Wenjin's statement, Comrade Gromyko said: The guest's words that our 70-year jubilee is not just our holiday but also China's holiday merits high approval. Indeed, the world became different after Great October. A new society was born, which during the entire past period has gained strength and consolidated itself.

The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium went on to dwell on the main points of the report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the festive session in the Kremlin. The report had given, with all the might of truth, a scientific assessment of different stages of Soviet society's development and spoke frankly of the current situation in the country and the world, of the grand tasks which Lenin's party sets the Soviet people for the future. These tasks are embraced by the capacious and precise word "perestroyka," and this is precisely the road to their fulfillment.

The guest was told about the democratization of society, about the drawing of millions and millions of people into the process of running the country. The need to make use of the latest achievements in the sphere of science and technology was spoken of: It is not a matter of a simple quantitative increase but of deep qualitative transformations in all spheres. There was also talk of the restructuring of people's very thinking. Vast attention is being given in our country to the problem of cadres, Comrade Gromyko said. The overwhelming majority want to be and are in step with the times. They are given support and help. It is necessary for our cadres and for all Soviet people to live and work better today than yesterday and better tomorrow than today. The Soviet people will resolve the tasks of restructuring, and they are totally confident of that.

We are grateful to the Chinese leadership and to the Chinese people for their understanding of our policy of restructuring. In our turn, we regard with understanding the problems of your internal development and the tasks put forward by the 13th CPC Congress.

Certain positive signs already exist in development of Soviet-Chinese relations. But a considerable part of the path still lies ahead. So, in our opinion, it is essential for both sides to do everything possible to make progress. As far as contacts in various spheres are concerned, they must be regarded not only as an indicator of the level of relations but also as a means of developing these relations.

In essence, our countries, the USSR and the PRC, are travelling in the same direction in the struggle for peace, too. This is shown also by statements on the Chinese side. However, the possibilities for developing cooperation in this direction are as yet far from exhausted. You would probably agree with that.

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko dwelt on the USSR's Vladivostok proposals aimed at creating a security system in the Asian-Pacific region. This is a problem of vast importance. The USSR and the PRC could do much to resolve it. The Soviet side has stated that the USSR is also prepared to construct and develop its relations with the PRC on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Zhang Wenjin stressed that both countries are faced with the task of socialist construction. In China, it is proceeding under the slogan of reform; in the USSR, it is the course of restructuring. It would be useful in this connection to acquire experience from each other. In connection with the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report at the festive meeting in the Kremlin gave a deep analysis of the history of the USSR and had pointed out mistakes, Zhang Wenjing noted that there have also been mistakes in the history of the PRC.

However, the errors of the Soviet leadership in the past, in the view of the Chinese guest, do not diminish the Soviet Union's greatness, its victory in the Great Patriotic War, and its successes in building socialism.

The CPC also has a critical attitude to past PRC errors. A critical interpretation of the past does not damage either the CPC or the state. This applies equally to the CPSU and the Soviet Union, the Chinese guest said.

There are problems between us, Zhang Wenjin said, and we are trying to find methods of solving them, ways of overcoming differences and improving mutual understanding. That is the reality. It is now essential to go step by step onward to meet each other.

In conclusion, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko stressed that he agrees with that point of view. Both sides must continue to develop their relations, and the Soviet Union will do all it can to this end.

The conversation was attended by V.V. Tereshkova, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; and USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev.

North Korea's Yi Kun-mo Visits Beijing

OW101053 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] According to *Xinhua* report, DPRK Premier Yi Kun-mo, at the invitation of Chinese Government, arrived in Beijing on 9 November for an official visit. He was scheduled to talk about some issues in bilateral economic cooperation.

Continuing Chinese Reforms Viewed

PM101616 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Nov 87 p 9

[Sergey Merinov article under the rubric "Following an Event": "China: The Reforms Continue"]

[Text] "The 13th CPC Congress ended 1 November"—*Xinhua.*

During the congress I was in Belgrade. I was discussing with my Yugoslav comrades not Chinese problems, but Yugoslav and Soviet problems. But now, reading the materials of the Chinese Communists' congress, I recall the words of a Belgrade colleague—we were talking about the reforms in our countries. "You know," he said, "your restructuring, like any reform, cannot have a time limit—1 year, 3, 5. Reform is a long-term matter. As soon as you take one step, you will have to take a second and a third. Reforms are a special condition of society. Once you get involved with them you cannot stop and have a 'rethink': The reforms produce a powerful boost of their own accord, and more and more new problems have to be resolved."

China, with its population of a billion, has been in that special condition of reforms for nearly 9 years now. As life has shown and the congress confirmed, there are far more problems than at the end of 1978, when the 3d plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 11th convocation, decided to "shift the center of gravity of work" to the economy. The reforms were launched in the countryside and spread to the city. China abruptly renounced isolationism and went over to an "open door" policy, attracting and encouraging foreign investments and developing foreign trade. Tens of millions of peasants and urban dwellers have become owners of individual holdings, private traders, and cooperative workers. The press calls for initiative and enterprise, for elimination of the "tin bowl of rice" (whereby the worker has a wage, albeit small, but compulsory, regardless of the results of labor). The bowl of rice should be "glass": It must be treasured and held firm; you never know when it will shatter.

Since 1978 GNP and the state's financial income have doubled, and the income of the population in the cities and the countryside has approximately doubled. Foreigners who visited China in the sixties and seventies notice striking changes.

Against the background of such impressive successes, the party congress gives a sober, unprecedentedly sober and realistic assessment: "The vast majority of the country's population of a billion are now provided with food and clothing. Some regions have begun to embark on the path of averagely prosperous life. In some regions the question of food and clothing may not have been fully resolved, but all the same people have begun to live better there." Another important proposition from the report by Zhao Ziyang (now general secretary of the CPC Central Committee) to the congress: "China is living through the initial stage of socialism.... First, our society is already socialist, and we must hold on firmly to socialism, not depart from it. Second, in our country the socialist society is only in the first stage of development, and we must not skip over it, but proceed on the basis of this reality."

The reforms are changing the way of living and the way of thinking in a surprising way. They required of the congress an analysis of the path traveled, serious theoretical studies and generalizations, and formulation of new, exceptionally complex tasks. The standard of thinking displayed by the congress is also largely the result of reforms. The reforms have made many times more complex the picture of economic, political, social, and ideological life, exposed old problems and generated new ones, and made the party show constructive political will and competence and prove in practice that it has the right to lead China to the heights of material and spiritual wealth and developed democracy and social justice.

Among the tasks put forward by the congress, one attracts particular attention. It is the reform of the political structure. Zhao Ziyang named as the cornerstone of the restructuring of the political structure the clear demarcation of the party's and government organs' functions. There is no need to copy from the West the division of power into legislative, executive, and judicial, or the multiparty system of rule by turns. But even in the existing system of party and state leadership, many serious defects must be eliminated: excessive concentration of power, the party's tendency to take the place of the government and state, cadres' presence for life in responsible posts, the hypertrophied role of party committee first secretaries, which results in one-man decisionmaking, and so forth.

The congress continued the work of making the party's leadership younger. The average age of the present CPC Central Committee is 55.2 years (the previous composition averaged 59.1). Leaders of the older generation—Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen—did not become part of the Central Committee. Zhu Muzhi, spokesman for the congress, said of Deng Xiaoping, at a press conference, that he is the "chief architect" of Chinese policy and will remain a party and state figure in China.

Near East & South Asia

Soviet Naval Vessels To Visit Tunisia

LD131239 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 13 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—In line with an agreement reached, a group of Soviet naval vessels, consisting of two large anti-submarine ships *Komsomolets Ukrainyy* and *Skoriy*, under the command of Rear-Admiral Vladimir Yegorov will pay an official friendly visit to the port of La Goulette in the Republic of Tunisia on November 17-21.

Arab Summit 'Success' for Jordan's Husayn

LD121752 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

A full-scale Arab summit conference has been held in Amman for the first time in many years. The meeting, chaired by King Husayn of Jordan, is undoubtedly a major success of Jordanian diplomacy and of King Husayn personally.

Besides, the leaders of Arab states demonstrated the ability to think soberly and look for answers to key Middle East issues through concerted effort, by way of compromises, rather than confrontation.

Two seats of enhanced tension in the Middle East—Arab-Israeli and Iran-Iraq—have created an explosive situation in the region. They are hindering and deforming the natural development of states, encouraging extremism and terrorism and exerting a harmful effect on the international situation on the whole.

To normalize the situation, King Husayn called for collective actions, for joint political efforts to settle the two drawn-out conflicts: The Arab-Israeli one, through the mechanism of a plenipotentiary international conference with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Iran-Iraq one, by facilitating the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 and by assisting the mission of the U.N. secretary-general.

It is important to note that the Soviet proposal for establishing a U.N. force for the Persian Gulf evoked growing support among the participants in the Amman conference.

It is believed in Moscow's diplomatic circles that the inter-Arab summit in Jordan has become an important landmark along the way of strengthening bilateral and multilateral contacts between Arab leaders with a view to bridging their differences.

Meeting between the presidents of Syria and Iraq, and other discussions were of great significance in this respect.

Vorontsov Receives Omani Envoy 11 Nov

LD111439 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister, today received Ambassador A. Najjar, a special representative of the Omani Foreign Ministry who has arrived in Moscow with a message for Eduard Shevardnadze from Yusuf al-Alawi, minister of state for foreign affairs.

Questions of bilateral relations as well as the situation in the Persian Gulf and surrounding the Iran-Iraq conflict were discussed during the conversation.

Ryzhkov Receives Indian Ambassador 10 Nov

LD101827 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, today received Triloki Nath Kaul, ambassador of the Republic of India to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

They exchanged opinions on a number of matters of mutual interest, including further steps in various fields of cooperation, reflecting the desire of both sides to continue broadening and consolidating friendly Soviet-Indian relations.

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

Reports of USSR Aid Offer to Pakistan Denied

BK111306 Moscow in Hindi to India 1130 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Pakistani newspapers published a report few days back that the Soviet Union is preparing to provide economic aid to Pakistan worth $4 billion, but Soviet economic institutions told the correspondent of the Soviet central newspaper *Moscow News* that this report is completely baseless. The Soviet newspaper reckoned in this connection that the Islamabad government has faked closeness to Moscow to blackmail some quarters in Washington. These quarters express apprehensions that the Ziaul Haq government wants indigenous nuclear weapons. On the other hand, some Indian observers are of the opinion that by speaking about so-called Soviet aid, Pakistan wants to create mistrust between India and the Soviet Union.

Afghan Bandits Disarmed in Four Provinces

LD101857 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Nov 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Five terrorist groups which penetrated Afghanistan from neighboring countries have been disarmed and destroyed by Afghan border guards in the provinces of Herat, Qandahar, Nangahar, and Konar. It is reported that a large quantity of weapons belonging to the bandits has been seized, including antiaircraft missiles, mortars, grenade launchers, and submachine guns. Dozens of counterrevolutionaries were killed in the fighting, and several were captured.

DRA People Support Realists, Not Extremists

PM121229 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Vadim Okulov "Commentator's Column": "Realists and Extremists"]

[Text] Kabul—The UN General Assembly session has adopted the now "traditional" resolution on Afghanistan. This time even more delegates have voted for the withdrawal of foreign troops than was the case last year. On the one hand, this reflects the desire to settle the situation in Afghanistan more quickly, which is perfectly understandable. But on the other hand the session's work has shown that a settlement is being hindered by forces seeking to continue interfering in the DRA's affairs by means, above all, of increasingly large-scale military and financial aid to extremist groupings of Afghan counterrevolutionaries. The United States and its allies verbally advocate a settlement while doing all they can in practice to prevent one.

In Afghanistan itself important steps are being taken on the path of shaping a new political system in conformity with the realities of the national reconciliation process. By decree of the DRA Revolutionary Council the Loya Jirga will soon be convened. This supreme council of the Afghan people, the traditional expresser of their will, is to approve the country's new constitution and elect its president. Thus, the second stage has begun in implementing the policy of national reconciliation, whose program was elaborated at the PDPA's Second General Party Conference.

Despite the difficulties that the peacemaking policy of the PDPA and the state power is encountering in its path, despite the mistakes that have been made and the unrealized opportunities, its real fruits are visible to the naked eye. A political system is being developed whose characteristic features are its multiparty and its coalition natures. People's power controls all the country's cities and more than one-third of residential villages. Some 30,000 rebels have ceased the struggle against the government, and almost 100,000 members of their families have returned to peaceful life. Many former opponents of the regime are involved in the work of local organs of power.

With what do the counterrevolutionary leaders, ensconced abroad, counter the realities of the national reconciliation process? Just with their extremism and intransigence. Again and again they throw into battle against their compatriots gangs of mercenaries trained on Pakistani and Iranian territory equipped at the expense of the United States and some of its allies. But can the desire to continue the bloodshed and brigandage be a long-term policy? Can just the wish to seize power be a plan of action? It is clear that the future belongs to those who have a positive program, and it is precisely this that the counterrevolutionary leaders do not have.

The people of Afghanistan will support not extremists but realists, and will approve only the policy and politicians capable of resolving the most acute and literally bleeding problem of Afghan life — that of leading the country to peace and ensuring tranquillity in the long-suffering land. The future belongs to those who guarantee for the nation the possibility of following the path of social and economic progress under peaceful conditions.

Iranian Parliamentary Delegation Visits

Tolkunov Receives Deputies

LD121519 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Comrade Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet today received deputies of the Majlis—the parliament of the Republic of Iran—at their request. Matters pertaining to arranging Soviet-Iranian parliamentary contacts were discussed.

Meets Muslims in Baku

LD122325 Tehran IRNA in English 1848 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 12, IRNA—Majlis deputies Hojjat ol-Eslam Hassan Ruhani and Hojjat ol-Eslam Eshaq Jahangir conferred with chairman of the Soviet Union's Muslim board for Transcaucasia, Shaykh Allashukur Pashayev, in Baku, Soviet Azerbaijan on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Hoj. Ruhani referring to the Mecca massacre (July 31) committed by the Saudi regime said, "verily history has not witnessed such a crime in which hundreds of male and female pilgrims were shot and martyred, and thousands of others wounded near Allah's secure sanctuary."

Iran believes that the lot was masterminded by the U.S. against Islam, and the Muslims should find a solution, he added.

The Iranian delegation also held meetings with prayer leaders of several Baku mosques.

The delegation is in the Soviet Union on the occasion of unity week marking the birth anniversary of prophet Mohammad. The Iranian deputies enlightened Soviet Muslims on the slaughter of Hajj pilgrims by the Saudi regime in Mecca.

East Europe

Vorotnikov-Led Delegation Visits Prague

Departs 11 Nov

LD110951 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Nov 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today an RSFSR delegation, headed by Comrade Vorotnikov, left Moscow for Prague to celebrate the Days of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia, which are dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Great October. The Russian Federation is the representative at the Days [Dni Otmechayutsya na Primere Rossiyskoy Federatsii]. At the airport the delegation was seen off by Comrade Chebrikov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and by other officials.

Welcomed by Adamec, Havlin

LD112016 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] An RSFSR delegation led by Comrade Vorotnikov arrived in Prague today from Moscow to celebrate the Days of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia which are dedicated to the Great October anniversary. The Russian Federation is the representative at the Days. At the airport the delegation was met by L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, deputy premier of the CSSR Government, and premier of the Czech Socialist Republic Government; J. Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and other officials. In the welcoming party was V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

Visits Engineering Works

LD121244 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] A month of friendship with the USSR is taking place in Czechoslovakia. It is traditional for this event to commence on 7 November every year. An RSFSR delegation, headed by Comrade Vorotnikov, arrived here to take part in it.

Today the delegation visited the Hostivar Engineering Works in Prague, where warm and friendly conversations with the workers and engineers took place. Vitaliy Vorotnikov addressed a meeting of the enterprise's workers.

Addresses Enterprise Workers

LD122055 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1150 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Report on speech by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, on 12 November at Hostivar Engineering Works in Prague]

[Text] Prague, 12 November (TASS)—A delegation of the Russian Federation headed by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, which is taking part in celebrating the Days of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia, today visited the Hostivar Engineering Works in Prague. The Soviet guests were acquainted with the history of the enterprise's development and with its production, and also visited shops at the works. Warm and friendly conversations with workers and engineers took place, during which there was talk about the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union and about processes taking place in Czechoslovakia for intensifying the social and economic development of society. Vitaliy Vorotnikov spoke at a meeting, which took place of the enterprise's working people. He noted: The Soviet Union highly values the resolute support of the CSSR leadership, Czechoslovak Communists, and all working people, for the CPSU course of restructuring. The warm and exciting meetings of Mikhail Gorbachev on Czechoslovak soil during his visit to the CSSR in April of this year have become graphic testimony to this. The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Gustav Husak, who headed the Czechoslovak Party and Government delegation at the celebrations for the 70th anniversary of Great October in Moscow, was marked by a spirit of brotherhood, comradeliness, and full unity.

Restructuring in the Soviet Union has been dictated by life itself. It began at the initiative of the Communist Party, which worked out the concept of the renewal of society and which is confidently leading the people along the planned path. Life confirms: The course chosen by the party is the only true one, meeting the needs which have come to a head. There is no doubt that the Soviet country will emerge from restructuring even more powerful, while in socialist practice, Leninist ideas and principles will triumph in full measure.

Soviet people are sincerely gladdened by Czechoslovakia's successes in socialist construction and by the resolve of the working class to direct its efforts at implementing the course of the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party for intensifying the country's social and economic development. Under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties, the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are progressing confidently along the road of socialism and are strengthening frateral friendship, at the basis of which lies a communality of ideas and aims.

Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation manifests itself in hundreds and thousands of everyday matters and accomplishments. Czechoslovakia is one of the largest trading partners of the Soviet Union. However, the reserves of integration laid down in production and scientific and technological potentials of our countries are as yet far from expended. Specialization and cooperation in production ought to be developed more broadly, first and foremost in machine building and in other branches of the national economy. It is essential to more actively use new and more promising forms of cooperation. At the present stage, wide establishment of direct production and scientific and technological ties between Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises, creation of joint enterprises, scientific-production associations, and collectivism ought in the next few years to already bring weighty results. The "green light" has now been given to this form of cooperation, but many fairly complex questions still have to be resolved through joint efforts.

Large tasks stand before the two countries in the area of deepening economic interaction between socialist states. The 43d (extraordinary) sitting of a CEMA session, which took place recently, showed the community of approaches of our countries toward questions of perfecting the economic mechanism of socialist integration.

In all the diversity of specific conditions for the development of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, our countries have a common requirement—to speed up the pace, to add greater dynamism to social and economic development, and to more fully reveal the enormous possibilities laid down in socialism.

Touching on the international situation, the speaker noted that of late, encouraging signs have taken shape in the foreign policy area, with some things beginning to change for the better. The concept proposed by the Soviet Union for a frank and honest dialogue and an orientation on reason [razum] and openness, are beginning to provide an opening in international affairs and to destroy stale stereotypes of anti-Sovietism and suspicion. One of the confirmations of this is the accord with the United States on the upcoming conclusion of an agreement on liquidating medium- and short-range missiles. In the queue is the working out of a future agreement on a 50% cut in offensive strategic weapons in conditions of the strict observance of the ABM treaty. Work is being conducted on a mandate for talks on cutting back armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, and seeking to settle regional conflicts has become more active.

The Soviet Union will continue with all its strength to strive for a halt to the senseless arms race and for creation of a firm and all-embracing system of collective security. Soviet people perceive with great satisfaction and gratitude the support of the working people of Czechoslovakia for the efforts of the USSR, which are aimed at preserving peace on earth, the head of the delegation stressed.

Visit Soviet Exhibition

LD130022 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 87

[S. Andreyev report over video; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The visit to Czechoslovakia by a delegation of the Russian Federation led by Comrade Vorotnikov, which is taking part in the Days of the Soviet Union in the CSSR, is continuing.

[Andreyev] Engineering works in Prague's district of Hostivar. For exemplary filling of Soviet orders, the enterprise has been decorated with the badge of honor and friendship of people orders. Grinding machines manufactured here work at Kamaz motor plant, the Volga motor plant, and many other plants in our country. There is quite a lot of Soviet equipment on the shop floors of the enterprises—machine tools made in Ryazan, at the (Ivar) association. Seemingly not a bad example of cooperation. But it is noteworthy that neither the Soviet nor the Czechoslovak side are happy with this level of development: We have to go further. We have to extend cooperation. This was discussed in Comrade Vorotnikov's conversations with the managers of the enterprise, with its workers. This was also said at a rally which took place on the floor of one of the shops.

[Begin recording] [Vorotnikov] Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation manifests itself in hundreds and thousands of daily deeds and achievements. Together we are building a gas pipeline between Yamburg and the western border of the USSR, the Urals gas complex, and the Krivoy Rog mining enrichment combine, and erecting the Prague subway, nuclear power stations, and other important national economy facilities. Everyone we have had an opportunity to meet in the CSSR spoke of their resolve to strengthen cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. Such is also our striving. Czechoslovakia is one of the Soviet Union's major trading partners. [end recording]

[Andreyev] Comrade Vorotnikov presented a gift to the plants' collective—a bust of Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

In the afternoon, the delegation of the Russian Federation, led by Comrade Vorotnikov, took part in the grand opening of an exhibition, Soviet Russia Today. There, 5,000 exhibits tell things about Soviet Russia. During these days, our largest republic is representing the Soviet Union—the attainments of its industry, science, and culture over the 70 years since Great October—in the fraternal country. In the course of these exhibitions, tours by Soviet performers, ensembles and theater companies, and fashion shows will take place in various cities of the country. At this moment, a grand opening of the days of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia is taking place at the Prague Palace of Culture.

Orzechowski Stops Over in Moscow

LD102306 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 10—On his way to China, Polish minister for Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski made a short stopover in Moscow where he was met by Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vadim Loginov.

West Europe

Spanish-U.S. NATO Base Talks Viewed

PM131215 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[G. Zafesov "International Notes": "Deadlock"]

[Text] Spanish-U.S. talks to reduce the U.S military presence on Spanish territory have been going on for almost 18 months and the 7th and last round has ended unsuccessfully.

On the whole it was not difficult to predict this outcome. First, the preceding six meetings also produced a zero result for the Americans. Second, as they say, they have run into a brick wall here. The United States, come what may, wants to retain its air bases in Torrejon de Ardoz and Zaragoza, but the Spanish side is firm in its wish to get rid of the U.S. F-16 fighter bombers.

The Americans explain their persistence with a single "argument." They say that the base in Torrejon de Ardoz has a "critically important" role for NATO. That at least is what C. Weinberger, who has just resigned as U.S. secretary of state, maintained. The Spanish Government is insisting on reducing the U.S. military presence. It has a really weighty argument: At last year's nationwide referendum, most Spaniards agreed to their country's participation in the NATO political organization, but on condition that there is without fail a reduction in the U.S. military presence, and, what is especially important, that the siting of nuclear weapons on Spanish territory is rejected.

To all appearances, it is precisely this last condition which was the insuperable stumbling block. The point is that it is practically impossible to verify the presence of nuclear weapons at U.S. bases. This equally applies to air and naval bases. Incidentally, literally days ago, pacifist protesters infiltrated the Rota naval base where there are believed to be nuclear weapons. The Pentagon knows for sure whether they are there or not, but it is quite indisputable that the overwhelming majority of Spaniards do not want to turn their country into a nuclear powder keg. The Pentagon is evidently simply clinging to its bases on Spanish territory because it does not want to lose its nuclear bridgehead.

The United States haggled to the last and even suggested withdrawing 48 of the 72 fighter bombers based at the Torrejon de Ardoz base near the Spanish capital. Madrid, however, stood firm.

Now that Washington has failed to overcome Spain's opposition, the situation has become even more complex. Next year, the term of the Spanish-U.S. agreement on friendship, defense, and cooperation expires, and 14 November is the last day when one of the sides can denounce the agreement. Spain is preparing to do just that. The press reports that the Spanish Government has already prepared official notification for the U.S. Administration. S. Varela, general secretary of the Chancellery and president of the government, confirmed the news at a press conference.

Thus, the former agreement on friendship, defense, and cooperation between Spain and the United States has ceased to be. True, for 6 months the sides can try to draw up a new draft. The probability of this is not excluded. However, it is symptomatic that this time Washington has misfired. It is increasingly difficult for Washington to make its European NATO partners stand to attention.

U.S. Shows 'Imperial Ambitions'

LD130320 Moscow in Spanish to Spain2200 GMT11 Nov 87

[Text] The Spanish Government has officially notified Washington of its decision not to extend the treaty of friendship, defense, and collaboration, which permits the Pentagon to have its own military bases on Spanish national territory. It was officially announced in Madrid that the treaty with the United States in its current form will not be automatically extended. This statement was issued after 1 and 1/2 years of fruitless negotiations during which the United States displayed an astonishing and, we might say, unprecedented contempt for the arguments of the Iberian side, which for almost 35 years had been fulfilling precisely the treaty's clauses.

Throughout the seven rounds of negotiations, Washington ceaselessly lectured the Spanish people, saying that they needed to think more about their contribution to Western defense and should not give priority solely to national interests. Furthermore they attempted to [word indistinct] the Spanish people, claiming that a substantial reduction of the U.S. military contingent on Iberian soil would have nothing less than catastrophic consequences for the plans of the Atlantic Alliance, but the United States does not wish even to consider the possibility of their F-16 planes being withdrawn from Spanish territory. [Words indistinct] display of the imperial ambitions of the current U.S. Administration [words indistinct] the Prime Minister's office apparently made the greatest possible effort to (?bring the negotiatons out of the deadlock), but it appealed in vain to those [word indistinct] who wanted to hold on to the traditional view. These exhortations were as sterile as the negotiations themselves.

Finally, the official statement was issued by the Spanish Foreign Ministry announcing that the treaty would not be extended. Now many Western analysts are pointing out that a new meeting with the United States is planned for mid-December. Will it be the eighth round of negotiations or something more, something different? We can say with all certainty that this is not the most important thing. The vital matter, in our view, is that, as foreign analysts stress, the socialist cabinet is displaying its readiness and interest in concluding a new agreement with the United States. [words indistinct] the King is dead, long live the King! We should note that this readiness is revealed while Washington has not moved one iota from its position and is doing everything possible to impose it on its partner in the negotiations.

Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez says that Spain will display a constructive spirit. Will this attitude be reciprocated by the United States? (?We guess from all the signs) that they will react in the same way as they have done so far. On the other side of the Atlantic, they believe there is enough time between now and next May to make Madrid see reason, but Spanish public opinion demands with increasing insistence not halfway agreements with the United States but the dismantling of the Pentagon's bases throughout national territory. Today thousands of Spaniards who want to live in peace and friendship speak out for denunciation of the treaty with Washington and application of the policy of neutrality. They argue the case for a Europe free of nuclear weapons.

French Stance on West Europe Security Scored

PM121645 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 p 3

[TASS correspondent N. Yermakov report: "Behind a Veil of Words"]

[Text] Paris—France does not intend to reduce its nuclear potential—this is how one can briefly summarize the content of the speech by French Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond, expounding in the National Assembly the main directions of French foreign policy.

In fact behind his verbose assurances that Paris has "always advocated a reduction in nuclear arsenals" lurks an extremely cool attitude to disarmament. Thus, the upcoming conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on elimination of medium- and short-range nuclear missiles is a "relatively minor element."

In the opinion of the head of French diplomacy, guaranteeing European security must be one of France's priorities in the next few years. However, this security continues to be conceived obligatorily through "nuclear deterrence" and multilaterally galvanizing military cooperation between the countries of West Europe.

In particular, J.-B. Raimond favors retaining U.S. nuclear weapons in West Europe and opposes elimination of tactical nuclear armaments on the continent. He thinks that West Europe itself must, in alliance with the United States, take into its own hands the matter of guaranteeing its own security. This is understood not as a reduction in the level of military confrontation but as even closer cooperation within the framework of the West European alliance.

J.-B. Raimond's speech does not mention what France specifically proposes to do to reduce the level of military confrontation and strengthen mutual trust on the continent. On the contrary, the old suspicion and the quest for "dirty tricks" in the USSR's international policy can be seen in his evaluations of Soviet foreign policy and the new political thinking. References to the alleged "imbalance" in Europe in the sphere of conventional and chemical armaments, in conjunction with the failure to react to the socialist countries' proposals regarding ways of resolving these questions and the absence of its own initiatives, are already becoming ritual.

Ambassador to Greece Stukalin Interviewed

NC112154 Athens ELEVTHEROTIPIA in Greek x11 Nov 87 pp 14-15

[Exclusive interview with Soviet Ambassador to Greece Viktor Stukalin by ELEVTHEROTIPIA Editor Petros Makris; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [*Elevtherotipia*] The ruling party in Greece and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou participate in the "Initiative of the Six" for peace and disarmament. Do you think this contributes to a determined promotion of the work of international detente and peace?

[V. Stukalin] In our opinion the "Initiative of the Six" to which the Greek Government, headed by A. Papandreou, is making a serious contribution, plays a serious role in general efforts to rid humanity from nuclear disaster and consolidate a long and stable peace on earth. Our concepts on the basic issues of disarmament, which currently concern all people of the world, basically coincide. We are united by the desire not to leave an unfulfilled dream of ridding our planet of nuclear arms by the end of the century.

In the Soviet Union, the initiative of the leaders of the six states is viewed positively since it expresses the wish and desires of the peoples of the five continents they represent. We are ready to cooperate with the members of the "Initiative of the Six" on a very broad spectrum of issues which concern both limitations on arms and disarmament, as well as preparation of a universal program for practical action by the states of the East and the West, the North and the South. As an example, we can cite the Soviet side's agreement for cooperation with the six countries in the area of verification. This is connected with adherence to the agreements for disarmament and, above all, to the ban on tests of nuclear arms, about which mention is made in the Soviet side's latest reply to the leaders of the group of the six.

[*Elevtherotipia*] A few days ago you spoke to the Greek business world to propose economic cooperation with the USSR. What special benefits will this broader road of cooperation with the USSR offer to the Greek economy?

[V. Stukalin] In our opinion, implementation of the proposals we made for development of bilateral economic cooperation will offer mutual benefits to Greece and the Soviet Union, especially for the advances in promotion of industrial and technological development. Specifically for Greece, efforts in this direction will contribute to many facets of its economy. The preservation of good relations, both political and economic, with all countries including the socialist ones, we think, is in harmony with the policy exercised by the Greek Government. The ideas for new forms of cooperation proposed by us, especially establishment of joint enterprises, in addition to immediate economic benefits, can contribute to the increase of employment and to a rise in the country's industrial potential.

This will allow a serious increase in the proportion of industrial products (exported by Greece to the USSR) and also in productive cooperation. As an example, we can already cite construction of four refrigerator ships in Greece for the USSR and, in the immediate future, the export of alumina [to the USSR]. Each year we buy large quantities of steel pipes and bauxite, but this does not mean that we shall cease purchasing Greek agricultural produce.

In other words, we are ready to expand and deepen traditional commercial relations and new forms of economic contacts with all sectors of the Greek economy and with state and cooperative organizations or private companies.

[*Elevtherotipia*] Do you think that Greece's broader economic relations with the USSR will contribute to promotion of cooperation between the USSR and the EEC?

[V. Stukalin] Undoubtedly. As is well known, efforts for establishment of official relations between the USSR and the EEC are being completed. This creates additional possibilities for the Soviet Union's multilateral cooperation with the EEC countries, including Greece. We believe that in the future this can lead to the establishment of a broader supplementary market. Under the current conditions, regardless of the socioeconomic system, it is an objective need for all countries to participate in the international apportioning of labor on the basis of their specialization for the production of the most lucrative products.

The socialist countries base their cooperation with the framework of CEMA for deepening of specialization and coordination of their productive programs. However, such a concept should be valid for cooperation with the EEC generally, and separately with EEC members, including Greece, so long as this implies mutual equality and mutual benefit.

Congratulatory Messages From Leaders

LD091221 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, and Comrades Gorbachev,Gromyko and Ryzhkov are still receiving congratulatory messages on the occasion of the Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary. Greetings messages have been received from the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee; the Sudanese Communist Party Central Committee; from Abderrahim Bouabid, first secretary of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces of Morocco; Kenan Evren, president of the Turkish Republic; and 'Abd al-Ghani, chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the standing committee of the General People's Congress of the Yemen Arab Republic. Telegrams continue to arrive.

FRG President

PM121345 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker]

[Text] To Mr Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Mr Chairman,

On the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Union's national holiday, I send you and your countrymen my good wishes for a peaceful and fruitful future.

I recall with pleasure my visit and the talks I had with you and the other members of the Soviet leadership. We were united on effectively using all existing potential to further deepen relations between our two countries for the good of our peoples and to actively safeguard peace in Europe and worldwide. I am sure that the further development of our cooperation will serve our constructive and peaceful neighborliness.

Richard von Weizsaecker, FRG president

FDJ Congratulates Komsomol

AU091105 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, conveyed the FDJ's greetings and congratulations on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolultion in a meeting with Viktor Mironenko in Moscow. Eberhard Aurich briefed the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Commitee on the FDJ's successful work in order to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, which had reached another climax with the youth manifestation on the previous Saturday [31 October]. Viktor Mironenko reported on the activities of the Komsomol after its 20th Congress and on future plans. Also the implementation of the cooperation program between the two youth associations until 1990 was discussed.

PRK Leaders

PM121129 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[PRK party, state leaders' revolution anniversary greetings under the general heading "Congratulations to the Land of the Soviets"]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

Comrade A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers,

Esteemed Comrades!

On behalf of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee, the PRK State Council and Council of Ministers, the entire Cambodian people, and ourselves, we send you and, through you, the entire Soviet people ardent congratulations and best wishes on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The ideas of the Great October revolution are marching triumphantly around the world and on their path are gaining more and more new victories in building a fine socialist society which meets mankind's highest aspirations.

In the past 70 years the Soviet Union has increased its economic, political, social, and defense potential at a rapid rate. These tremendous achievements have enabled the heroic Soviet people to heal as quickly as possible the wounds received in the struggle against tsarism and in the war against fascism, which ended in a brilliant victory.

The October Revolution had a tremendous influence on the oppressed peoples of all five continents, who rose up in courageous struggle for national independence, democracy, social progress, and right to determine their own fate themselves. The unfading light of Marxism-Leninism, which has illuminated the three Indochinese countries, opened a new era in their history.

Making use of the experience of the Great October Revolution, the Cambodian people rose up against Pol Pot's genocide regime and on 7 January 1979 won a decisive victory with the aid of Vietnamese volunteers. Relying on the vast material and moral assistance and support of the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos, and other socialist countries as well as the humanitarian assistance of the world's progressive peoples, our people have been consistently achieving successes in the cause of protecting and building their motherland—the land of beautiful Angkor—as it proceeds along the path of socialism.

We note with great satisfaction the steady development and deepening of the all-around cooperation between the Cambodian and Soviet parties, governments, and peoples. We will continue to contribute as much as we can to the cause of ensuring peace, cooperation, and good-neighborliness in Southeast Asia, the Asia and Pacific region, and throughout the world.

The party, Government, and the people of Cambodia fully support the Soviet Union's domestic policy and its peace-loving foreign policy, which is aimed at the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the earliest ending of the arms race on earth and in space, and the ensuring of international security, peaceful coexistence, and the prosperity of all mankind.

We highly appreciate the CPSU's active restructuring of the economy in your country designed to ensure the Soviet people's happiness, and we are studying your remarkable experience.

Allow us once more to wish the CPSU, the USSR Government, and all the Soviet people boundless energy and colossal new victories in implementing the noble and responsible tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress in improving socialism and moving toward communism.

Dear comrades, accept these assurances of our lofty fraternal respect.

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK State Council,

Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers.

SRV Leaders

PM121417 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[SRV leaders' greetings message to USSR leadership on 70th anniversary of Great October Socialist Revolution]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

On behalf of the Communists and people of Vietnam we send the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire heroic Soviet people most ardent congratulations on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—a great festival for Soviet people, the peoples of socialist countries, and all progressive mankind.

The October Revolution was the greatest event of the 20th century and marked the start of a new epoch in the history of mankind—the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, the epoch of the upsurge of the struggle of the working class, the working people, and the peoples of the whole world against centuries-old oppression and exploitation and for the creation of a new society without exploitation of man by man.

Over the past 70 years the Soviet people, worthily continuing the cause of the October Revolution and surmounting innumerable difficulties and trials, have, thanks to persistent struggle and creative labor, realized the great ideas of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin. The Soviet people have turned economically backward Russia, encircled by an imperialist blockade, into the world's most powerful socialist state and scaled heights in the development of the economy, science, technology, culture, and education. Relations of a new type have been created among the people, classes, and peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as among nations and states. Underpinned by a strong economic and defense potential, the Soviet Union's Leninist peace-loving course has for more than 40 years served as a reliable guarantee of peace and international security. In the history of mankind the Soviet Union is a pioneer on the path of building a new society. It has opened up mankind's route into boundless space.

Profound changes have occurred in the world over the past 7 decades under the influence of the October Revolution. More than one-third of the world's population has broken the shackels of capitalist exploitation. Going beyond a single country, socialism has become a world system and, strengthening its influence, become a decisive factor in mankind's progression. The planet's peace-loving and revolutionary forces are steadily strengthening in the struggle for the October Revolution's lofty ideals—peace, friendship, cooperation, and development—and for a new world without nuclear weapons and without violence in the sphere of international relations.

The Soviet people's great victories, the profound revolutionary changes on our planet over 70 years, and the successes in the conquest of space are eloquent testimony to the transforming force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the October Revolution in the world.

The 27th CPSU Congress, which approved the policy of all-around, decisive, profoundly scientific, and revolutionary restructuring, continued and raised still higher the innovative, creative spirit of Leninism and the

October Revolution and marked an important turning point in the vivid history of the development of the Soviet state and world socialism.

The 27th CPSU Congress decisions highlighted and raised to a new level the ideas and theories of V.I. Lenin and the October Revolution on real socialism.

The realities of the past 3 years have confirmed the historic, epoch-making significance of restructuring and of the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy initiatives, which marked an important turning point in the cause of strengthening peace throughout the world, ushered in a new stage in the development of socialism in the Soviet Union and throughout the world, and strengthened mankind's faith in peace and socialism.

The Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] and the Vietnamese people will always remember the Vietnamese revolution's indissoluble link with the Soviet Union and the October Revolution. The October Revolution and Leninism helped President Ho Chi Minh and all Vietnamese patriots to find the right way to save the motherland, create the Communist Party of Indochina, triumphantly carry out the August Revolution, and form the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union's tremendous support and assistance over more than 40 years have served as a reliable guarantee that the Vietnamese people, who for more than a century were in a state of imperialist and colonial slavery, have achieved independence and freedom, reunited the country, and led it along the path of building socialism. Under the powerful influence of the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress the CPV and the Vietnamese people have now adopted a policy of renewing the country and embarked on a new stage of the revolution in Vietnam. The indissoluble link between the revolution in Vietnam and the October Revolution is convincing proof of a truth of our epoch: The cause of national independence is inseparable from socialism. The CPV and the people of Vietnam express profound gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet people for their sincere support and tremendous assistance for the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause.

The great Vietnamese-Soviet friendship, at whose origins President Ho Chi Minh was present, is the force which helped and is helping the Vietnamese people to overcome the most cruel trials and is a vivid example of relations of a new type between fraternal socialist countries.

Inspired by the 27th CPSU Congress policy of restructuring and by the 6th CPV Congress policy of renewal and thanks to the accords reached during the Vietnamese-Soviet summit meeting in May 1987, relations between our parties and countries have now entered a qualitatively new stage. We are firmly convinced that the strong and all-around unity of our parties and countries is a reliable basis for the further, still stronger development of Vietnamese-soviet cooperation, which is called upon to efficiently serve the cause of building socialism and communism in our countries.

By uniting the strength of the people with the might of the modern epoch and, above all, with the might of Vietnamese-Soviet solidarity and cooperation, the CPV and the Vietnamese people will certainly achieve victory in implementing the polcy of the Sixth CPV Congress, attain the goals of the initial stage of the transitional period to socialism, and make their contribution to the cause of peace, security, and cooperation in Southeast Asia, the Asia and Pacific region, and throughout the world.

We wish the Soviet people the successful fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions under the leadership of the glorious CPSU!

Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee

Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State

Pham Hung, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers

Le Quang Dao, chairman of the SRV National Assembly

Burmese President

PM121215 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Greetings message to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from President San Yu of Burma]

[Text] To His Excellency Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

On the joyful occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I would like to express very best wishes to your excellency and, through you, to the Soviet people and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on behalf of the Burmese people and State Council.

May I take this opportunity to convey my very best wishes for your good health, happiness, and successes and for the Soviet people's further progress and prosperity.

San Yu, president of Burma

Mongolian Leaders

PM121103 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[Mongolian leaders' revolution anniversary message under the general heading: "Congratulations to the Soviet Land"]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the MPR People's Great Hural Presidium and Council of Ministers, and all working people in the country we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Soviet people most ardent, heartfelt congratulations on the glorious 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The victorious October revolution is the chief epoch-making event of modern times which fundamentally altered the course of world development. It paved the way for the world's peoples to liberation from the yoke of capitalism and transition to socialism.

Throughout the 7 decades,the Soviet people, acting under the wise leadership of Lenin's party and honorably fulfilling a historic pioneering mission, have defended the gains of great October through selfless labor and heroic struggle and in incredibly difficult conditions have achieved historic successes in the building of a new society, transforming the USSR into a world socialist power.

The immortal ideas of October are continuing to live and prevail, being embodied in the deeds and accomplishments of the Soviet Land and world socialist system and in the growth and strengthening of present-day revolutionary and democratic forces.

The profound revolutionary process of restructuring currently taking place in the Soviet Union in all spheres of social life is a direct continuation of the cause of the October Revolution and an embodiment of the potential and advantages of socialism.

The innovative, creative nature of the peace-loving foreign policy, born of October, of the CPSU and Soviet state, which are doing all they can to radically improve the international situation as a whole and create a world without wars and without weapons, is being increasingly revealed. As a result of the Soviet Union's bold, constructive initiatives, new, historically important changes are taking place in the international arena. The spirit of the new political thinking and the new philosophy for solving mankind's problems in accordance with the realities of the nuclear-space age is gaining ground. The accord between the USSR and the United States on the destruction of two classes of missiles meets with the ardent approval of the peoples of the world, who see its implementation as the practical start to nuclear disarmament.

The MPR fully supports the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy course. We will continue to struggle together for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security and the safeguarding of peace in the Asian-Pacific region.

The revolutionary gains of the Mongolian people, who have invariably relied on the fraternal assistance and support of the Soviet Union and on close cooperation with it, are bound up with the liberation ideas and direct influence of Great October. The Leninist friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples is rich in traditions and serves the interests of socialist and communist building in our countries and the interests of strengthening peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

The MPRP and the MPR Government express deep satisfaction at the high level of the entire complex of Mongolian-Soviet relations and see the great prospects for their future expansion and improvement of their effectiveness as a very important condition of our country's successful progress along the path of socialist building.

On this noteworthy day we wholeheartedly wish you, dear comrades, and the entire Soviet people, great new successes in the further development and improvement of Soviet society in the spirit of the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and in the struggle for peace, security, and social progress of the peoples.

J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium,

D. Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers.

Gandhi to Gorbachev

PM121135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[Anniversary message from Rajiv Gandhi to Gorbachev under the general heading "Congratulations to the Land of the Soviets"]

[Text] To His Excellency Mikhail S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

Your Excellency,

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is living proof of the vitality and significance of the great ideals that inspired Lenin and his comrades-in-arms. The Soviet people have, through their tireless struggle, reached yet another milestone on their heroic path. On behalf of the Government and the people of India, the Indian National Congress Party, and myself I send you our warmest greetings.

In this regard our minds turn to the enormous sacrifices borne by the Soviet people to create a new social system in the face of incredible difficulties. The unparalleled courage and heroism shown by them in defending their freedom from fascist invasion serve as a source of inspiration for everyone. The achievements of the great Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU have given a new turn to history.

Mankind today craves peace above all else. Soviet policy is distinguished by a resolute and self-sacrificing struggle for peace and disarmament in the nuclear age. Your personal contribution to the cause of eliminating nuclear missiles and creating a just and durable basis for peace has enormously strengthened the worldwide movement for peace and disarmament.

The people of India are following with interest and admiration the bold and courageous course of reform and restructuring of the Soviet Union's national economomy. We wish you success in your endeavors.

The Soviet Union and India have together developed a model of relations which serves as an example to the rest of the world. Our two countries, with different social systems, cooperate in different spheres to strengthen peace and stability. As each year passes our friendship grows deeper and becomes filled with new content. The Festival of India held in the USSR showed that the bonds of friendship between India and the Soviet Union have become deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of our peoples. We look forward to the Festival of the USSR in India.

The Indian-Soviet Treaty on Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation continues to guide our multifaceted relations. The 1986 Delhi Declaration gave new dimensions to our cooperation. That is based on a common commitment to peace, nonviolence, and a just, humane world order.

My best wishes for happiness, prosperity, and success to the friendly Soviet people and good health and personal happiness to your excellency.

Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of India

Gandhi Greets Ryzhkov

PM121331 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, from Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi]

[Text] To Mr N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the Indian Government and people and on my own behalf, I cordially congratulate you on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Indian people are delighted by the Soviet Union's great achievements in the economic, scientific, technical, and cultural spheres.

We wish you further successes in your efforts.

The friendship between India and the Soviet Union is strengthening with every passing year and has stood the test of time. The large-scale cooperation between our two governments is steadily expanding for the good of both our countries. Indian-Soviet relations, based on mutual respect, are an important factor in peace and stability.

May our bonds of friendship and cooperation continue to strengthen and expand.

I wish you, Your Excellency, good health and well-being, and the great Soviet people further happiness and prosperity.

Afhgan Leader

PM121151 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Greetings message from Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, and S.A. Keshtmand, chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers, to M.S. Gorbachev,general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, A.A. Gromyko,chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

To Comrade A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the PDPA Central Committee, the DRA Revolutionary Council and Government, the Afghan people, and on our own behalf, we ardently congratulate and fraternally greet you and, through you, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Soviet Government, and Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

World history has known no event which so sharply changed the destiny of all mankind as did the October Revolution, which defined the main direction and fundamental trends of the development of human civilization. It led to the formation of the world socialist system, which has an enormous influence on the development and nature of the modern world. All progressive forces and peace-loving peoples see the October Revolution as the dawn of mankind's liberation from oppression and exploitation.

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress—a most important political event in the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet state—open up broad prospects for creative activity by the peoples of the Land of the Soviets in socioeconomic development and the struggle for the triumph of peace and the peoples' security. The implementation of the CPSU decisions aimed at further improving socialist society will enhance still further the role of the Soviet Union as the reliable bastion of the world's progressive and peace-loving forces.

The PDPA and Afghanistan's working people are attentively following with profound sympathy the course of restructuring and the CPSU's dynamic activity to implement highly important socioeconomic transformations.

The history of Afghan-Soviet relations is vivid confirmation of the traditional friendship and good-neighborliness between our countries' peoples and their adherence to the principles of equality and mutual respect. The Afghan people are cordially grateful to the great Soviet Union for its immense international assistance. Its importance is increasing particularly at the present responsible and crucial stage in Afghan society's life—the stage of the implementation of the national reconciliation policy and the stepping up of efforts to ensure a political settlement of the situation around the DRA. We are sure that Afghan-Soviet friendship will continue to flourish and deepen for the good of our countries' peoples and the strengthening of peace and security in the region and worldwide.

Revolutionary Afghanistan ardently welcomes the Soviet Union's tireless efforts in the struggle for a nuclear-free world, democracy, national independence, and social progress. The Soviet Union's large-scale initiatives in the spirit of new political thinking aimed at achieving a breakthrough in curbing the arms race and ending military conflicts on our planet are extensively supported by the Afghan people.

On this triumphant day we wholeheartedly wish you, dear comrades, and the entire fraternal Soviet people, great new successes in the struggle to implement restructuring, which is a continuation of Great October, and to ensure lasting peace worldwide.

Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee

S.'A. Keshtmand, chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers

Iranian President

PM121255 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[Iranian President's October Revolution Greetings to USSR]

[Text] To His Excellency Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev,general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

I congratulate Your Excellency and the Government and the people of the USSR on the anniversary of the October Revolution. I am convinced that relations between Iran and the Soviet Union are deepening as a result of the positive efforts being made by both sides.

I wish all the best to Your Excellency and happiness to the people of the USSR.

Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Yemen's Salih

PM121351 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message to Mikhail S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from Colonel 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the YAR, commander in chief of the YAR Armed Forces, and general secretary of the General People's Congress]

[Text] To His Excellency, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

On the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened up broad horizons of social and economic progress for the Soviet people, I send you and the friendly Soviet people sincere greetings and ardent congratulations on my own behalf and on behalf of the people of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR].

I wish you good health, happiness, and successes in your noble activity, I wish the friendly Soviet people progress and prosperity, and I hope that the relations of friendship, cooperation, and mutual respect between our countries will continue to develop for the good of the Soviet and YAR peoples and in the interests of the strengthening of international peace and security.

With profound respect,

Colonel 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the YAR, commander in chief of the YAR Armed Forces, and general secretary of the General People's Congress

'Arafat to Gorbachev

PM121203 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Yasir 'Arafat greetings message to M.S. Gorbachev]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

To mark the Soviet people's national holiday—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—permit me on behalf of the Palestinian Arab people, the members of the PLO Executive Committee, and myself personally to convey to you and, through you, to the Soviet Government, your militant party, and also the friendly Soviet people the warmest congratulations and cordial wishes.

The Soviet people's holiday gives a reason to recall the heroic revolutionary struggle which ended in the creation of the USSR under the leadership of the great Lenin. In connection with this holiday I would like to voice a high assessment of the economic, social, and scientific achievements which the friendly Soviet people, full of resolution to press on along the path of scientific socialism under your wise and skillful leadership, have secured under the leadership of its militant Communist party.

I would like to take this opportunity to assure you, dear Comrade General Secretary, that we deeply value the comradely ties which link our friendly peoples and the esteemed USSR Government and the PLO. I confirm our firm desire to further strengthen these relations, which conforms with the aims and interests of the Soviet and Palestinian peoples.

I also assess highly the principled firm position of the Soviet Union's leadership, government, party, and people in supporting the just Palestinian cause and our people's legitimate struggle to liberate their occupied lands and restore their inalienable national rights, including their rights to return, to self-determination, and to the creation of an independent Palestinian state on their national territory.

In conclusion I want to once again express to you the warmest congratulations, cordial greetings, and sincere wishes for health, happiness, and further successes in leading your militant party and also I also wish the friendly Soviet people successes in implementing the high tasks in the matter of achieving prosperity and well-being.

I send you—the friend of the Palestinian people and the friend of all peoples struggling for freedom and independence—my best wishes.

Revolution until victory.

Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Council and commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces.

Al-Qadhdhafi to Gorbachev

PM121305 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[October Revolution anniversary message from Al-Qadhdhafi to USSR]

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

Dear Friend,

On behalf of the Libyan Arab people and myself, it gives me great satisfaction to send you the warmest congratulations and best wishes on the 70th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

In congratulating you on this event, I should like to welcome your responsible role and constructive efforts in the realization of mankind's aspirations—the attainment of disarmament and the removal from the world of the threat of a disastrous nuclear war.

I am convinced that the forces of justice, peace, and socialism will finally triumph over imperialism's unceasing aggression and tyranny as it seeks to establish its domination over the peoples of the world.

I am taking advantage of this occasion to confirm to you our unfailing determination to work to develop and strengthen the excellent relations between our friendly countries with the aim of giving form to the peoples' noble striving for good, friendship, progress, and peace.

Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

Al-Qadhdhafi to Gromyko

PM121201 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Greetings message to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi]

[Text] To Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Dear Friend,

On the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, it is a pleasure for me to send you warmest congratulations and very best wishes on my own behalf and that of the Libyan Arab people. I hope that the superb [prevoskhodnyye] privileged relations between our countries and peoples will continue to develop and strengthen in the interests of prosperity, peace, and security on our planet.

Greeting you and the friendly Soviet people on this portentous event, I wish good health and happiness to you and the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and further progress and prosperity to the Soviet people.

Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi

Saudi King Greetings

LD080536 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz al Sa'ud, has sent a cable of congratulations to His Excellency President Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the occasion of the anniversary of his country's national day.

In his cable, the king expressed, on behalf of the people and government of the kingdom and in his own name, warm congratulations coupled with his wishes for good health and happiness for his excellency and for more progress for the people of the Soviet Union.

Kuwait's Amir

LD080531 Kuwait Domestic Service in Arabic 1000 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] His Highness the Amir has sent a cable of congratulations to His Excellency the general secretary of the CPSU, Mikhail Gorbachev, and a similar cable to His Excellency, President Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution.

AAPSO Congratulations

LD041854 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 4 Nov 87

[Text] Cairo November 4 TASS—The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) together with all progressive forces of the world cordially congratulates the Soviet people upon the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, says a message of this large international organisation circulated here.

The October Revolution made under the guidance of great Lenin heralded the new era for entire humankind. The Land of Soviets, the first country in the world that put an end to the exploitation of many by man, has become the lodestar and a reliable bulwark for all peoples waging the struggle for national and social liberation. From the times of the issuing of the decree on peace, one of the first laws after the victory of the revolution, the Soviet Union has always been in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and disarmament, has been doing its utmost to eliminate nuclear arms, the statement says. The Soviet Union's tireless efforts in the struggle for durable peace on earth, for ensuring that the world ushers in the new millennium without nuclear arms, without wars and violence, are supported and evoke sincere esteem of all peaceful people on earth.

The October Revolution opened to peoples of enslaved countries the road to national liberation, has led to the disintegration of the colonial system. The Soviet Union has always been and remains true friend of the emergent Asian, African and Latin American countries that are solving vast tasks of the social and economic development. The Soviet Union is building its relations with those countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, gives them vast assistance in combatting poverty, famine and backwardness. Thousands of important economic facilities built with Soviet assistance in more than one hundred of emergent countries are monuments to the October Revolution, the statement says.

From the very start imperialism has been striving to crush the first socialist country. Despite this, the Land of Soviets turned within mere 70 years into one of the most powerful countries in the world, achieved great success in every area. The successful implementation of the revolutionary process of restructuring in the USSR aimed at the development and strengthening of the mainstays of socialism and democracy in the Soviet Union will also have a vast positive effect on the whole world. Observing the glorious anniversary of the October Revolution, AAPSO wishes fresh success and well-being to the people and leadership of the Soviet Union, the statement says.

Benin Leader

PM121209 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Greetings message to Andrey A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from Mathieu Kerekou, chairman of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, president of Benin, head of state, and chairman of the National Executive Council]

[Text] To His Excellency, Andrey A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Mr Chairman and dear friend,

On the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on 7 November 1987, we are particularly pleased to send you our warmest comradely congratulations on behalf of the Beninese people, the Benin People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, the National Executive Council, and on our own behalf.

On this portentous day we are sincerely gratified at the enormous successes that the courageous and industrious Soviet people have achieved along the road of building a developed socialist society. We make a high assessment of the tireless efforts made by your country in the struggle for human dignity and for the triumph of freedom, justice, peace, and social progress on earth. We express the hope that the relations of sincere friendship, effective solidarity, and fruitful cooperation that exist between our two peoples and states will continue to strengthen and develop. Please accept, Mr Chairman and dear friend, the expression of our very high respect.

Mathieu Kerekou, chairman of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, president of Benin, head of state, and chairman of the National Executive Council

Mengistu Greetings

PM121245 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Greetings message to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee, Ethiopian president, and commander in chief of the Ethiopian Armed Forces]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

On the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I send cordial congratulations and very best wishes to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and friendly Soviet people on behalf of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE], the Ethiopian Government and people, and on my own behalf.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which secured victory under the leadership of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, not only freed Russia's broad people's masses from the exploitative capitalist system, but opened up a new stage in the history of the peoples' liberation struggle against oppression and exploitation. It led to major social transformations in line with the peoples' aspirations. That is why the planet's socialist, progressive, and democratic forces are celebrating this holiday with special feelings and respect.

Ethiopia's working people, who are taking an active part in the democratic revolution aimed at consistently overcoming the centuries of backwardness and lawlessness, also attach particular importance to Great October because they are extensively using the rich experience of the October Revolution.

The WPE and the Ethiopian Government and people approve and wholly support the Soviet Union's specific and constructive contribution to the struggle to establish lasting world peace and ensure nuclear disarmament.

The achievement of favorable results at the short- and medium-range nuclear arms talks, which should pave the way to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the turn of the century, are a real manifestation of the Soviet Union's consistent desire to safeguard mankind's security and world peace.

Ethiopian working people are delighted by the gains and successes that the Soviet Union has achieved in the last 70 years and make a high assessment of their bonds of friendship with the Soviet people.

On behalf of the WPE Central Committee, the Ethiopian Government and people, and on my own behalf I send the CPSU and the Soviet Government and people very best wishes for successes in completely realizing the extensive program for implementing the ideals of socialism.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the WPE Central Committee, Ethiopian president, and commander in chief of the Ethiopian Armed Forces

Leaders, Visitors GOSR Activities

Delegates Visit Exhibit

LD081811 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Delegations from a number of socialist countries who are staying in Moscow in connection with the jubilee celebrations visited the VDNKH [Main Committee for Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy] of the USSR today.

A party and government delegation from Bulgaria, headed by Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, chairman of the State Council; a Romanian party and government delegation, headed by Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania; a DPRK party and government delegation, headed by Pak Song-chol, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, vice president of the DPRK; and members of the GDR and Hungarian party and government delegations were present. Their visit included an intersector exhibition of machine-building for the 70th anniversary of the Great October, and the exhibition "70 years Under the Banner of the Great October", which shows the achievements of the Soviet Union republics and of Moscow and Leningrad. The guests were accompanied by Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Vedernikov and Tolstykh, deputy secretaries of the USSR Council of Ministers; heads of departments of the CPSU Central Committee; USSR ministers and other officials.

Husak Meets Spanish Communist

AU061559 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Nov 87 p 7

[CTK Moscow dispatch: "In an Atmosphere of Friendship"]

[Excerpt] Moscow (CTK correspondent)—[passage omitted] During yesterday's meeting of foreign delegations which attend the Moscow celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Gustav Husak conferred with Ignacio Gallego, chairman of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain. The two representatives briefed each other on the activities of their parties in implementing the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain, and assessed the possibilities of further developing and intensifying comprehensive cooperation between the two parties. During the conversation, a positive assessment was made of the struggle waged by the communist movement in Spain for its unification. [passage omitted]

Nemeth Visits Exhibit

AU101015 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Nov 87 p 3

[MTI report: "Karoly Nemeth's Visit to the Moscow Economic Exhibition"]

[Text] Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, who is visiting the Soviet capital as a member of the Hungarian party and Government delegation that is participating in the series of events organized on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the GOSR, paid a visit to an exhibition demonstrating the results of the people's economy of the Soviet Union on 6 November. Sandor Rajnai, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Moscow, accompanied him on this visit.

At the exhibition, the president of the Presidential Council was received by Boris Tolstykh,deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology.

Karoly Nemeth first visited the industrial exhibition, where he was shown around by Nikolay Pugin, minister of automotive industry. Here, Nemeth inspected, among other things, the installations of the machine, construction, transportation vehicle producing, electronics, and consumer goods industries. The president of the Presidential Council then paid a visit to the pavilion exhibiting the economic, scientific, and cultural results of the republics of the Soviet Union. Here Nemeth was conducted through the exhibition halls by Leonid Yefremov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology.

Karoly Nemeth spoke with appreciation about what he saw at the exhibition. He also said that there are further possibilities for the development of relations between Hungary and the USSR, and that both countries are striving to exploit these possibilities.

Aden's Muhsin, AAPSO Leader

EA081958 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Brother Muhammad Sa'id 'Abd-Allah Muhsin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, met at noon today in Moscow Brother Nuri 'Abd al-Razzaq, secretary general of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization.

During the meeting, Brother Muhsin praised the role of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization in backing the struggle of our Yemeni And Arab peoples against the conspiratorial designs of the imperialist and Zionist forces. He confirmed our country's and our party's support for the organizations activity in achieving its noble aims.

For his part, Brother Nuri 'Abd al-Razzaq hailed our peoples struggle, led by the Yemeni Socialist Party, for achieving the aims of the Yemeni revolution. He commended the steadfastness of the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen in the face of various conspiracies that aim to hamper its progressive march. He confirmed the organization's solidarity with our party's and our people's struggle in all spheres.

Visitors at Art Exhibit

LD080739 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Today the all-union art exhibition "The Soviet Countries" at the central exhibition hall was visited by the party and government delegations of the GDR headed by Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; of Romania, headed by Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania; and by a delegation of SFRY headed by Krunic, chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

The guests were accompanied by Comrade Orlov, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; Comrades Antonov and Vedernikov deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and by other officials.

Republics Hold Festivities

LD080612 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Today it was a clear, sunny day in Moscow. It brought its colors to our greatest celebration—the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. [passage omitted]

Festive demonstrations took place in towns and villages. The participants were warmly welcomed by Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Committee of the party, in Leningrad; and by Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, in Kiev. The participants in the festive processions were also welcomed by the party and local Soviet leaders of the union republics of Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, and Estonia.

USSR Embassy Ceremonies Mark Jubilee

PM121659 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On the Occasion of the Holiday"]

[Text] 7 Nov—On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, receptions were held at USSR embassies in foreign countries. The receptions were attended by:

in Prague—G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, and L. Strougal, premier of the Czechoslovak Government;

in Bucharest—M. Manescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, and E. Bobu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee;

in Belgrade—M. Orlandic and S. Suvar, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and S. Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium;

in Beijing—Wan Li, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council;

in Managua—D. Ortega, president of the Republic of Nicaragua;

in Helskinki—Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland, and H. Holkeri, prime minister;

in Nicosia—S. Kiprianou, president of the Republic of Cyprus;

in Vienna—K. Waldheim, federal president of the Republic of Austria;

in Copenhagen-S. Jakobsen, president of the Folketing (parliament);

in Islamabad—General M. Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan;

in Madrid—J.F. Carvajal, president of the Senate of the Spanish parliament;

in Cairo—R. al-Mahjub, president of the Egyptian People's Assembly, and I. Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs;

in Amman—A.K. al-Lawzi, president of the National Assembly Senate;

in Brasilia—H. Lucena, president of the National Congress Federal Senate;

in La Paz—J. Garrett, vice president of Bolivia;

in Dhaka—A.K.M. Nurul Islam, vice president of Bangladesh;

in Oslo—Gro Harlem Brundtland, prime minister of Norway;

in Katmandu—Marich Man Singh Shrestha, prime minister of Nepal;

in Rome—G. Andreotti, Italian foreign minister;

and in The Hague—Hans van den Broek, Dutch minister of foreign affairs.

A reception which was attended by UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar, and P. Florin, chairman of the 42d Session of the UN General Assembly, was held at the USSR's permanent mission at the United Nations in New York. Receptions were also held at Soviet embassies in Phnom Penh, Paris, Stockholm, Lisbon, Brussels, Ottawa, Tokyo, Canberra, Jakarta, Manila, Bangkok, Mexico, Buenos Aires, Rabat, Harare, Maputo, and other capitals.

Shakhnazarov on 'Unique' GOSR Meeting

LD052021 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—"It was a unique meeting. It helped find common routes by which humanity can get to a nuclear-free and non-violent world", Georgiy Shakhnazarov, first deputy head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee, has said. He spoke in the press centre for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution here today at a briefing held upon the end of a meeting in the Kremlin of representatives of parties and movements taking part in celebrations on the occasion of the anniversary of the revolution.

Shakhnazarov pointed out that the meeting in the Kremlin had become an example of a new political thinking because it had helped to get rid of some stereotyped notions.

"The atmosphere at the meeting was characterized not only by benevolence and tolerance with regard to each other's views. It was of far greater political significance because not just purely human relations were involved. It was actually the call of time. I fully agree with the words of a representative of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden who said that in conditions of various world outlooks existing today it was especially important not to create each other's image as that of an enemy and not to distort the motives by which this or that party, this or that individual were guided in pursuing their policy.

"It was one of the ideas to which special prominence was given at the meeting", Shakhnazarov pointed out.

Visiting Leaders on Importance of GOSR

LD090317 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 8 Nov 87

["The Ideas of October and the Modern World" program, presented by All-Union Radio foreign political commentator Vladimir Pasko]

[Excerpt] Hello, comrades. A few months after the October Revolution, Vladimir Ilich Lenin made the following note: "We have awakened faith in our forces and lit the fire of enthusiasm among millions upon millions of working people of all countries." These words appraised the revolution from the point of view of its influence on the world around it. Seven decades have passed since the legendary days of October 1917, but today, too, our revolution and its ideas continue to exert a very profound effect upon all aspects of world development. This fact was repeatedly remarked on in the course of the present jubilee celebrations in Moscow.

Those who follow the programs of All-Union Radio will have noticed that today's program was originally billed as a meeting of political observers. We changed our minds, and decided to provide a platform for foreign participants in the celebrations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October. It was a splendid opportunity to do so, and one we simply could not miss, as 178 delegations from 119 countries have come to Moscow to congratulate the Soviet people, pay their respects to the Soviet state and to the party of Lenin, and exchange views on current questions of our time. Never before have the communist, workers, and national liberation movements been so broadly represented at our national festival, a vivid confirmation of Lenin's words about the fire of enthusiasm kindled by our revolution.

What do the representatives of those forces think of the October Revolution from the vantage point of our time? What do they say about the policy of our party at the present stage? We do not live in an isolated world; no Soviet person is indifferent to what outsiders think and say about us. We have decided to include in this program opinions heard at the festive session at the Kremlin dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Great October, at the meeting of representatives of the parties and movements attending the celebrations, and in their interviews with journalists.

Here is Comrade Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of Czechoslovakia:

[Begin Husak recording in Czech with superimposed Russian translation] The greatness of historic events is measured by the profoundity of the social transformations they have produced and by what vistas they have opened to humanity on the path towards social and national liberation. Time has shown that the very highest criteria are applicable to the Great October Socialist Revolution. It radically influenced the subsequent development of human society and accelerated its progress. [end recording]

Here is the opinion of Comrade Cunhal, the general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party:

[Begin Cunhal recording in Portuguese with superimposed Russian translation] The past 70 years have shown that the October Revolution was the point of departure and motive force of a worldwide process, because under the influence of the October Revolution, the communist movement spread to all countries; new socialist revolutions occured in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa; peoples that had suffered under the colonial yoke arose and took up the struggle and won independence and crushed the age-old system of colonialism; and the democratic national revolutions have freed a large part of our planet from imperialist rule. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Castro's 'Profound Satisfaction' at Visit

PM101447 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "F. Castro Interview"]

[Text] Havana, 9 Nov—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the Republic's Council of State and Council of Ministers, has expressed profound satisfaction with the results of his visit to Moscow to participate in the measures to mark the 70th anniversary of Great October.

In an interview with Cuban television, F. Castro pointed out that in the course of meetings and talks with M.S. Gorbachev they discussed very diverse questions, including the results of the meeting of the representatives of the parties and movements who had come to celebrate the 70th anniversary of Great October, the problems of developing countries' foreign debt, and the struggles for peace and disarmament. All the meetings with the Soviet leader, he stated, took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, friendship, and cordiality.

F. Castro noted the complete coincidence of viewpoints with regard to the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union, rectifying mistakes, and eliminating negative trends in Cuba. He expressed firm confidence in the success of this timely process.

The Cuban leader described the Moscow meeting as historic and of exceptional importance for the quest for ways to resolve the problems of the day, above all those such as the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Referring to the upcoming Soviet-u.s. summit meeting and the conclusion of an agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles, the Cuban leader called it extremely important and promising. F. Castro stressed that this has become possible mainly thanks to the Soviet Union's peace-loving efforts.

Castro Addresses Moscow Parties Meeting

For Havana Television coverage of the speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro at the meeting of parties and liberation movements in Moscow on 5 November, see the Cuba subsection of the Caribbean section of the 6 November Latin America *Daily Report.*

Soviet Envoy Speaks at Havana Ceremony

*FL071555 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish
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[Speech by Aleksandr Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet ambassador to Cuba, during a ceremony marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] held at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana—live; in Russian with simultaneous translation into Spanish]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Raul Castro, esteemed representatives of the leadership of the party and state of the Republic of Cuba, esteemed representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Cuba, esteemed participants in this central event:

First allow me to warmly greet all those gathered in this hall and, in the name of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and the entire Soviet people, to convey the most cordial congratulations on the occasion of this great celebration—the 70th anniversary of the GOSR. As a participant in the solemn meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Russian Federation in honor of the 70th anniversary of the GOSR, allow me, as CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev said, to declare that our anniversary is a reason for national pride. It is a reason to recall, it is a reason to reflect, it is also a reason to look toward the future.

Yes, we have something to be proud of. The centuries of adversities and sorrows of millions of workers in various nations and continents and the repeated attempts of the peoples to challenge the old order were only culminated by the GOSR in Russia. It embodied the experience of the revolutionary and liberating struggle of the peoples, and ushered in a new stage in the history of the human race. It brought to fruition the ideas of socialism and internationalism, and rejected colonialism, racism, and chauvinism. It became an integral part of the history of many nations.

Looking back at the results achieved in the past 70 years, our people are proud and they render tribute to the historic feats of socialism.

It is well known that our socialist state had to confront extremely difficult problems and undergo many trials—the civil war, the economic and political blockade, the fascist invasion during World War II, the difficult reconstruction of an economy destroyed by war. Imagine—we lost 8 million people in the civil war, 20 million in the Great Patriotic War.

Analyzing the road traversed, we render tribute to the genius of Lenin, his theories, his moral example, and his titanic work. Lenin made an incalculable contribution to the creation of the plans to build socialism in our country and to the initiation of its materialization. But the principal thing is that Lenin's ideas and practices armed the contemporary and future builders of the new society with the methods to solve ever-new tasks that arise as the society advances.

In commemorating the October anniversary, we render deserved tribute to the Bolshevik party which, at the head of the revolution, led the armed uprising of the working class and the poor peasantry to a revolutionary feat and to victory. In celebrating the October anniversary, we pay tribute to the working class of Russia, the powerful and driving force of the GOSR. The working class guided the peasantry and other strata of the population and turned them into a united and powerful asset. The workers and peasants, dressed in the uniforms of soldiers and sailors, became the shock troops of the socialist revolution, which responded to their hopes and demands.

Much has changed and continues to change in our way of thinking concerning the means to develop and transform the socialist society. The successors of October asserted that many convictions born out of habit and traditional ideas might have been appropriate 30, 20, and even 10 years ago, but these ideas have now irreversibly aged.

However, one element has remained constant, that is, to fully take into account the needs and requirements of the people. We are convinced that Marxism-Leninism is a transforming force that responds to the present-day demands only when party members and leaders [words indistinct] materialize them in their policies.

Our road has not been smooth and easy due to the complexity, newness, and magnitude of the tasks to be resolved and the errors and mistakes that have taken place and that have no place within the Leninist legacy. In the period of the USSR's dynamic progress, elements also emerged that worked as a curbing mechanism which in the 1970's led to stagnation in our country and could not help but influence the development of the socialist world in general.

Each stage of socialism has its tasks, problems, and contradictions. But there is a strong foundation for the renewal of our ideas concerning the economic forms of socialism, its social and political structures. Perestroyka in our country arose from the objective march of the historical process. What are the tasks that perestroyka entails? Perestroyka is meant, in view of the accumulated problems and contradictions, to free us from stagnation and conservatism, to overcome the historically limited and obsolete traces of social organization and working methods. It seeks to endow socialism with the most modern forms corresponding to the scientific-technical revolution; that is, it seeks to endow socialism with a new quality, give it a new impetus in the interest of the workers.

Is perestroyka negating everything that has been achieved in the earlier stages of development of the Soviet Union? No, not at all. Perestroyka does not mean a rejection of the road traveled by the Soviet people, but, as Comrade Gorbachev stressed, perestroyka is dialectics, and it will be a strong and solid foundation, created by the selfless work and heroic efforts of the Soviet people, of all their generations. I would like to stress, comrades, that the perestroyka of the Soviet society began through the initiative of the party and within the party. The CPSU is heading this process; it is generating the energy of perestroyka in all the links of the chain, from top to bottom. It is at the grassroots level that the fate of perestroyka is determined.

In a short period of time, the party, its Central Committee and Politburo, have managed to set up a theoretical and conceptual system that is largely new. The theory and practice of perestroyka and the acceleration on which its domestic and foreign policy is based. [sentence as heard]

What determines perestroyka? There are two key issues determining the fate of perestroyka. These are the democratization of all social life and the radical economic reform. The objective of the economic reform in the Soviet Union consists of the following:

In the course of the next few years, it will (?speed up) the move from a centralized administration system to a democratic system based principally on economic methods and an (?optimal) combination of centralism and self-management. This reform presupposes a broad expansion of the autonomy of enterprises and their management based entirely on economic calculation and self-financing. (?Work objectives) will play a bigger role and the necessary rights will be granted.

Democratization of society is the soul of perestroyka. The success of perestroyka will also depend on how it is carried out. It would not be incorrect to say that the future of socialism in general will depend on this. Perestroyka represents the firmest guarantee of transformations in politics and the economy. It is a barrier to any step backward. After 70 years, our present and future demand more socialism and democracy. We reflect on the road we have traveled for 70 years and on the future in terms of the position of the people who experienced the heroic and the tragic, who achieved great victories and suffered bitter defeats, who are ready to mobilize their forces, all the enormous potential of socialism, to effect new revolutionary transformations.

The CPSU is striving to enable the Soviet people to feel the results of perestroyka and of the changes aimed at achieving improvements as soon as possible. The profound reconstruction of the national economy is being consistently implemented in practice. In 1986, national income increased 4.1% with a plan of 3.6%. Industrial production increased by 4.9%, which is a third higher than the average yearly increase in the llth 5-year period and the highest in the last 9 years. There have been positive changes in the agro-industrial complex.

Next year will be important in the consolidation and strengthening of perestroyka. It is a crucial year. First, it is the mid-point of the 5-year period. To the extent that a stable development dynamic is sustained, much of its success depends largely on the unconditional fulfillment of this year's plan. Second, 1988 marks the beginning of the reconstruction of economic management; it is the year when the basic ideas of perestroyka will materialize.

Dear friends, the victory of the GOSR launched a radical change of the whole system of international relations. A state emerged with the will of peace. The idea of peaceful coexistence proposed by Lenin has acquired a new content in the various historical periods. To organize the world community on the basis of the acceptance of peace as the highest value of existence, on the basis of peaceful coexistence as the universal principle of relations among states, is our duty to the human race. Safeguarding peace on earth has no alternative. The future of our planet is decided today. Earth and the human race must be rescued from the danger of extermination. The survival of the human race is a central problem that has made the whole bourgeois and once-classic formula of Karl Clausewitz that war is an instrument of politics no longer reflect reality on a global scale. The imperative of our days is to veer away, decisively and irrevocably, from a way of thinking shaped over the centuries. Our ideal is a world without weapons or violence, a world in which each nation freely chooses its own course of development, its own way of life.

These words of Gorbachev's represent the quintessence of our focus toward international politics. This policy announced at the 27th CPSU Congress is confirmed by the consistent and practical steps taken by the Soviet

Union. Several components come into play, including the accumulation of a progressive policy and a strict scientific analysis, an evaluation and prognosis of the realities of the modern world, and the elimination of national restrictions in the way of thinking.

The [words indistinct] idea is found at the root of the new political mentality. Despite the profound contradictions in today's world and the radical differences between states with different socio-political systems, the modern world is an interconnected and interdependent world. It constitutes a unique [word indistinct]. That is why in this new phase of human civilization interaction of contemporary forms is necessary. The new political mentality, oriented toward reasoning, openness, universal values, and cultivation of relations has already started to take practical steps on the international arena.

We all remember the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests which lasted for a year and a half. The Soviet moratorium on the introduction of anti-satellite weapons into space is still in effect. The Soviet Union stopped manufacturing chemical weapons. Factories are being built to liquidate chemical weapons arsenals. Our country is promoting constructive initiatives and proposals aimed at solving regional conflicts and a whole series of international economic and monetary problems. The Soviet idea to create a universal security system is supported by many countries. The initiatives and proposals of other socialist and progressive states complement and develop this idea. Proof of this is the international meeting of the communist and labor parties, progressive movements, and other organizations held on the occasion of the 70th GOSR anniversary celebrations.

In his speech, Comrade Fidel Castro noted that the forces represented at the meeting are part of the universal torrent determined to establish peace and to improve man's destiny. It would be the best tribute we could pay to those who proclaimed these same principles in Petrograd under Lenin's leadership 70 years ago. It would mean to bring closer and unify the tasks of transformation to this task of transformation. [sentence as heard]

The Warsaw Pact signatories are proposing a radical reduction in arms and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals to achieve a reasonable level. They are going to be examining and studying the military doctrines of the two opposing alliances, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, in order to imprint on them an exclusively defensive orientation.

The Soviet Union salutes the plan conceived by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski for arms reduction and the development of security measures in Central Europe; the initiatives of the GDR and the CSSR for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe; the proposals of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania [words indistinct] security in the Balkans; the proposals of the SRV concerning a political arrangement in Southeast Asia; the proposals of the People's Republic of Mongolia concerning security in Asia.

We point with satisfaction to the close interaction between socialist Cuba and the USSR in the international arena. Cuba has supported Soviet foreign policy initiatives set down by the 27th CPSU Congress and contained in the statements of Comrade Gorbachev on 15 January 1986, and subsequent Soviet initiatives.

As one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement, Cuba is currently a prestigious progressive force—and as Mikhail Gorbachev said—Cuba is working actively to strengthen the unity and anti-imperialist character of the movement. The Soviet Union salutes Cuba's efforts for a peaceful solution in Central America and other regions in conflict. We well understand and appreciate Cuba's activities concerning the reorganization of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, as well as the establishment of a new international economic order.

The active joint efforts of the socialist countries designed to guarantee peace and security give practical results. I feel that no one can dispute that after Reykjavik the international atmosphere improved a little. After the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on the liquidation of medium-range and tactical missiles, there is reason to believe that this atmosphere will improve even further. This is because for the first time a whole complex of nuclear arms [words indistinct] will be eliminated that destabilize the international situation. For the first time a practical, albeit small, step will be taken toward the liquidation of nuclear arsenals. This is without a doubt a new political mentality in action, its first substantive results.

All our foreign policy is aimed at the future. We are convinced that on the eve of the third millennium peaceful coexistence among nations can be secured. Human happiness is reflected in this policy. Our conviction that relations among states can be built on the basis of mutual trust and respect is its fundamental trait. The conviction that a sincere, honest dialogue devoid of attempts to deceive anyone can be held is its principal foundation.

Dear friends, the world socialist system has existed for 4 decades now. Socialism became the common destiny of many peoples. It is a very important factor in contemporary civilization. Our country is convinced that socialism is capable of resolving whatever matters it encounters. An increasingly active interaction among socialist countries is of vital importance. This will have the effect of not simply adding up but multiplying our potential. We see it as an international duty to strengthen the unity and increase the power and influence of socialist countries. We do not view their unity as a single identity, as uniformity. The main thing is what we can secure: the combination of mutual interest with the interests of socialism in general. The competition between socialism and capitalism, the welfare of the world's civilization, depend to a large extent on the success of the creative activity of each country, on their concerted actions.

The development and strengthening of friendly ties between the USSR and other socialist countries is a top priority in our work, that of the CPSU foreign policy, and the Soviet state. Our experience allows us to build better cooperative relations between socialist states looking for an alternative. We are convinced that there is no one socialist model—and it cannot possibly exist—that is equally convenient for all.

Comrades, because of fate, we Soviets are celebrating an important anniversary of the GOSR on the other side of the planet, tens of thousands of miles from our fatherland. This is the most convincing example of the triumph of the GOSR for which there are and can have no limits.

The Cuban revolution, which waved the banner of freedom, social progress, and socialism in American territory, is the continuation of the cause initiated by the GOSR. Naturally, each has its special characteristics but, at the same time, they are dialectically intertwined because of the common laws of the struggle of the classes. Comrade Fidel Castro spoke brilliantly on this underscoring that the Cuban revolution was possible because the 1917 revolution took place in Russia. The socialist revolution in Cuba would have been impossible without the existence of the USSR.

The appearance of the first socialist state in Latin American encouraged the peoples' struggle for progress and democracy in the area. It forced the United States and ruling circles of Latin America to seriously reorganize their policies. The socialist world, the entire progressive humankind, has supported revolutionary Cuba from the first days of the triumph of its people. The ideologic foundation of political ties between the USSR and Cuba are Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the proletariat and socialist internationalism.

The exemplary Soviet-Cuban relations have been erected precisely over this same solid foundation for almost 30 years. The main factor that ensures our sound and unyielding cooperation is the guiding role of our communist parties in its creation and development. The parties guide the policies of our states, educate the peoples of the two countries in the spirit of devoted fidelity to the ideas of socialism and communism, friendship, cooperation, and solidarity. Each year, more and more ties are created between the parties. The exchange of experiences strengthen and expand. Each party takes the best and the most valuable things of the other.

Comrades, we are proud of the industrial facilities we have built, rebuilt, and have under construction together with the Cuban people. They have become true symbols of Soviet-Cuban friendship. They are the Jose Marti Metallurgic Center, the Juragua Nuclear Center, and the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution sugarcane cutting combine plant. There, Soviet specialists work with dedication, shoulder to shoulder with the Cubans, inspired by the ideals of socialist internationalism. Naturally, there are still more opportunities for fraternal cooperation between our countries; there is room for creative search and improvement. The creative thoughts of the Soviet and Cuban specialists and our central organs are aimed at achieving that goal. They break with stereotype and obsolete ways, present new ideas and plans. Their achievement will help to deepen the multiple Soviet-Cuban ties.

Comrades, we Soviets are proud of the Cuban workers who, following the resolutions reached by the Third PCC Congress, are building a new society and are seeing their objectives clearly , are carrying out the rectification policy, always willing to work and defend the triumphs of socialism. We are sure that no one will be able to intimidate the heroic Cuban people, who are building socialism under the leadership of its vanguard, the PCC, which is led by the outstanding personality of the international communist and labor movement, Comrade Fidel Castro. [applause]

The countries of the socialist community decisively support our sister Cuba. The solidarity of the Latin American sovereign countries, of the numerous members of the Nonaligned Movement, is with Cuba. All the progressive forces of the planet support Cuba. Taking advantage of this important opportunity, we reiterate that the Soviet Union has supported, is supporting, and will always support socialist and revolutionary Cuba. [applause]

A testimony of the fraternity between our peoples is the the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the GOSR as one of their national holidays. Letters and telegrams of congratulations have been arriving at the Soviet Embassy and other [words indistinct] in Cuba in these days of festivities from Cuban friends, work centers, and social organizations. I take the opportunity to express to all our gratitude for the congratulations, for this show of solidarity and proletariat internationalism.

Long live the 70th anniversary of the GOSR! [crowd shouts:"Long live!"] Long live the great [word indistinct] revolutionary of Marx, Hegel, Engels, and Lenin! [crowd shouts:"Long live!"] Let peace and socialism grow strong! Long live the unyielding Soviet-Cuban friendship! [crowd shouts: "Long live!"] [applause]

Ambassador Kvasov on Foreign Policy

PY062053 Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 6 Nov 87 p 3

[Text] Tomorrow marks the 70th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, the most important national holiday in the Soviet Union, and Soviet Ambassador to Argentina Oleg Kvasov has discussed the significance of this event and various aspects of Soviet domestic and foreign policy.

Among other considerations, the Soviet ambassador stated that the Soviet Union has "great plans for peaceful construction in the future," but warned that to carry them out, "it is essential to achieve peace; for this reason, the main objective of our policy is to do everything possible to achieve a secure world, to reduce the existing confrontation, and to establish constructive interaction among states and peoples on a worldwide scale, a necessary action if we are to prevent a nuclear disaster."

He said that there has been favorable progress in this regard, and added that Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States on 7 December will be very important, "because important agreements will be signed between the two countries on the elimination of medium-range and strategic missiles." "This will represent an important step toward disarmament," he stated.

Kvasov added that the Soviet Union is following with concern the regional conflicts existing in different parts of the world. Regarding these conflicts he stated that they "can and must be solved, taking into account the interests of each party, through negotiations based on international laws." He added: "We are convinced that the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems is an essential and imperative principle of life, because we must start learning how to live together on this planet, which is our common house."

In conclusion, the Soviet ambassador expressed his "profound satisfaction over the high level of current Argentine-Soviet relations." He stressed the importance of the political dialogue existing between the two nations and the personal contacts among their leaders, "contacts that represent the direct continuation of the constructive exchange of opinions on key issues of war and peace, about which the two countries have similar or identical opinions."

In answer to a question, Kvasov stated that the Soviet Union will give its full political support to Argentina at the United Nations regarding the conflict with the United Kingdom over the Malvinas Islands.

Meaning of October Revolution in PRC

OW290617 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asian-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 26 Oct 87

[Station commentary: "What the Great October Revolution Means to China"]

[Excerpts] The Great October Socialist Revolution brought to the semifeudal, semicolonial old China ideas of freedom and independence and the idea of social reform on the basis of equality and justice. One of China's best thinkers welcomed the October Revolution. Sun Yat-sen, an eminent Chinese nationalist revolutionary, said: The victory of revolution in Russia has brought new hopes to mankind. Li Dazhao, one of the CPC's founders, pointed out: The CPC was founded under the strong inspiration of Leninism in China and under the influence of the October Revolution. He repeatedly noted that Chinese revolutionaries must conduct deep study of the experience of the October Revolution. [passage omitted]

The victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 was the result of struggle launched by the Chinese people under the CPC's leadership. The victory was won under the favorable condition of the anti-Fascist alliance winning World War II and the Soviet Union offering internationalist aid to the CPC. The Chinese Communists called the Soviet Union's victory in World War II the prelude to the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution. Correspondingly, the establishment of People's China strengthened the position of socialism in the world, and opposed many schemes and intrigues of imperialism during the difficult postwar years.

Today, favorable conditions are available for the Soviet Union and China to develop mutually beneficial cooperation in a widespread and comprehensive way. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are two neighboring socialist countries, sharing the longest common boundary in the world. This fact alone determines that the people of the two countries must live in a peaceful and goodneighborly environment. This is one aspect. The other equally important aspect is that history has entrusted to the Soviet Union and China the important task,where many issues of international development are decided by the two largest socialist countries.

A short while ago, the Soviet Union's and China's stands on the most important issues of the times, that is, war and peace, have come somewhat close. Many of the two countries' efforts against the menace of a nuclear war and for disarmament and overall security are the same. This enables the two countries to act in coordination with each other under the principle of equality in international affairs. [passage omitted]

Although there are still differences between the two countries on some international issues, they will not become obstacles to the development of cooperation and the complete normalization of relations between the two countries. As far as the people of the two countries are concerned, the most precious issues are socialism and peace.

Yazov Order of Day for GOSR Jubilee

PM101207 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Defense Minister Order of the Day No 290" dated Moscow, 7 November 1987]

[Text] Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers!

Comrade ensigns and warrant officers!

Comrade officers, generals, and admirals!

Comrade veterans of the USSR Armed Forces!

Today the Soviet people, Army and Navy servicemen, the working people of the fraternal socialist states, and all progressive mankind are festively celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—the most outstanding event of the 20th century, which proclaimed the start of a new era in the life of mankind.

The Bolsheviks' party, which raised Russia's working class and working people to a revolutionary exploit, was headed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin. His theoretical thought and the fruits of his titanic activity will live through the ages.

Over the past 7 decades our motherland has achieved successes of worldwide historic significance. The selfless labor of Soviet people and of all the country's nations and ethnic groups created a mighty socialist state, and the Soviet people resolved this task under incredibly difficult conditions, creating a new society and repulsing repeated attempts by world imperialism to destroy it by force of arms.

Great October continues in our affairs today. Soviet people, closely rallied around the Communist Party, are persistently implementing the historic 27th CPSU Congress decisions, unswervingly following the strategic policy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and deepening socialist democracy, and fulfilling the 12th 5-Year Plan's strenuous targets. Restructuring is changing the moral atmosphere of society. The country has been set in motion and acquired new breath.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community countries are actively implementing a policy aimed at further strengthening the forces of peace and social progress. The struggle for the easing of international tension and peaceful coexistence and friendship among the peoples is being stepped up.

However, through the fault of imperialism, the situation in the world remains complex, and the threat of nuclear war persists. As long as international reaction is whipping up the arms race and has not abandoned its policy of social revenge and "crusades" against socialism, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are forced to do everything necessary to maintain the country's defense might at the requisite level.

Today the USSR Armed Forces are living through an important stage in their development. The restructuring being carried out in the country is also taking place in the Army and the Navy. It consists in asserting the policy of enhancing vigilance, combat readiness, and the quality of combat and political training and in strengthening organization and discipline. Our people may rest assured that we will not permit imperialism's military superiority and no aggressive forces will be able to catch us unawares!

Comrade servicemen of the Army and Navy!

Comrade veterans of the USSR Armed Forces!

I congratulate you on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

I wish servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces further successes in combat and political training, in mastering weapons and combat hardware, and in maintaining firm regulation order!

To mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution **I order** [boldface as published]:

that a festive 30-gun artillery salute be fired today, 7 November 1987, at 2100 hours local time, in the capital of our motherland—the hero-city of Moscow—the union republic capitals, the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, the hero-fortress of Brest, and also in the cities of Kaliningrad, Lvov, Rostov-na-Donu, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Chita, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and Severomorsk.

Long live the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the heroic Soviet people and their valiant Armed Forces!

Glory to the CPSU—the inspiration and organizer of all our victories!

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Great October Anniversary Viewed

PM121025 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 7 Nov 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Under Lenin's Banner"]

[Text] A great nationwide holiday has arrived in our Soviet land—the Great October anniversary. Exactly 70 years ago, Russian workers and peasants, roused by Lenin's party to storm the old world, carried out an unprecedented historic breakthrough into the future. It is hard to imagine how it must have appeared to our fathers and grandfathers back then, in October 1917. Probably everyone saw it in their own way. But one thing was indisputable—in the new society, working people would eschew exploitation and oppression, would be elevated to the light of culture and knowledge, and would become masters of the land.

The freedom-loving dream of generations, combined with the revolutionary theory of Marxism and the party's indomitable organizational work, acquired mighty force and became our present-day reality.

It was with excitement and pride in the people's revolutionary achievements that we listened to the reports from the Lenin Palace of Congresses on the ceremonial session devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and M.S. Gorbachev's report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues." The provisions and assessments contained in the report reveal the broad panorama of the Soviet state's life in the 7 decades of its existence. They are imbued with an understanding of the magnitude of what has been achieved, with a profound analysis of all the difficulties of development, and with a realization of responsibility for the country's future.

Turning to the roots of revolutionary transformations, we can see more clearly how many severe tests and difficulties stood in our historic path. We were trailblazers. We built and simultaneously learned to build, sometimes making mistakes, yet stubbornly pushing onward. People tried to stop us in an attempt to use the united forces of the overthrown classes and foreign military intervention to stifle socialism born of the revolution. We were severely tested during the Great Patriotic War years. The enemies' calculations were shattered against our steadfastness and our unshakable fidelity to the ideas of October. The new social system, which rallied the nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union into a single state, withstood and overcame everything. They did this because they had a great, longed-for goal ahead of them and because the victorious people had already, as the saying goes, breathed the air of freedom and felt the joy of living and working for the sake of their own common good.

Our enemies can talk as much as they like today about the gloomy shadows of the past, the mistakes made in the country, and tragic distortions of the shining image of socialism. Our own party has even discussed this directly and unambiguously. Yes, there were shortcomings and mistakes along the unexplored path, distortions and voluntarist attempts to skip stages, and unjustified victims and losses. We know more about them than any outsiders! But if our enemies talk about our troubles to besmirch and bury the very idea of socialism, then we will expose them in order to rid our glittering dream of everything borrowed or alien to the communist ideal. The truth about the dark bends along the road we have traveled—however bitter it may be—will not eclipse our achievements or the real and unprecedented enthusiasm of our people traveling the road of October.

It was stated very accurately at the ceremonial session in the Kremlin devoted to the glorious 70th anniversary that our jubilee is a moment for pride, a moment to remember, a moment for thought and for a view of the future. One-sidedness never leads to truth or good. We do not want to cover up our mistakes, but we oppose wholesale mudslinging. The party believes that only an honest understanding both of past difficulties and of our enormous achievements, along with a full and truthful political assessment of them, will give us an accurate moral reference point for the future. History cannot be rewritten. It must be studied, the road we have traveled must be properly assessed, and lessons must be learned for our new progress.

We are full of optimism and faith in our historic correctness because we have the truth of life itself behind us. It impressively says that the Soviet people have many reasons to be proud—in the material, social, political, and spiritual spheres. Let us not forget that it was only after the victory of October that the backward country that old Russia then was reached the front ranks of economic, scientific, and technical progress and became a modern state. We remind those who love nihilistic grumbling that the unprecedented upsurge in energy and force of spirit that our people displayed at all stages of society's revolutionary renewal were not a journalistic fancy but a historical fact. Such qualitative manifestations cannot be imposed on millions from outside. They emerge in the depths of the people as their embodied consciousness and as a materialized desire for a great and longed-for goal.

Today, interpreting the realities of the country's complex and contradictory development, we have every grounds for stating that the course set by the party of restructuring and of qualitatively renewing society has met with the most ardent support among the people precisely because it accords with the aspirations of millions. The idea of restructuring did not spring up from nowhere. It essentially matured during the years of stagnant phenomena as their antithesis. It made increasingly active headway against the onslaught of indifference and skepticism afflicting part of society. It made headway through the glorious deeds of innovators sickened by the empty gulf between words and practice. It made itself felt in the critical words of the committed, to whom ostentation and disregard for the principles of social justice were anathema. It was seen in the growing dissatisfaction of all those who did not want to settle for less, and, soberly assessing the situation, were prepared to strive for greater things, really combining the advantages of the socialist system with the potential of the scientific and technical revolution.

The bold ideas of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and extensive decisions of the 27th party congress have made the course of restructuring statewide and nationwide in scale. They reflected the deep-seated desire of the overwhelming majority of Soviet people for renewal and comprehensive revelation of socialism's humane essence. It was this aspect of things that attracted the attention of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech at the ceremonial session devoted to the 70th anniversary of Great October. "The aim of restructuring," the report stressed, "is to fully restore in theory and in practice the Leninist concept of socialism, in which indisputable priority is given to working people, their ideals and interests, humanistic values in the economy, social and political relations, and culture."

Not for nothing is it said among the people that restructuring is continuation of the revolution, continuation of the great cause of October. Each generation has its own revolutionary task. Our grandfathers stormed the Winter Palace, routed Kolchak's hordes, built the first industrial giants, and created the kolkhozes. Our fathers took up arms to defend the gains of October in the fierce nationwide struggle against fascism and then, tightening their belts, resurrected their beloved war-ravaged Soviet land, opened up the virgin lands, and launched the first spacecraft. It is up to our grandsons and great-grandsons to impart new acceleration to our entire giant state organism and to reach new heights in the economy and in social and spiritual development.

Socialism is an indissolubly developing society. Restructuring is a most important, qualitatively new, and genuinely revolutionary stage in our history. During restructuring the economy is being resolutely turned away from extensive development toward intensive development, from stagnation toward acceleration. We are turning from primarily administrative methods to primarily economic management methods. We are learning democracy in practice in all spheres of life, and the process of expanding socialist self-management is under way. All this is no easy task, the burden of habit still retards our progress. The party considers it necessary to persistently instill in people a taste for independence and responsibility in their approach to production and public affairs on any scale and to expand democratization and glasnost in work, seeing this as the prime guarantee of success in restructuring.

Today we say with satisfaction that the first stage ofrestructuring work has been completed. That was the conclusion drawn by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum held at the end of October. It means that a concept of restructuring has been worked out and a new political, moral, and psychological atmosphere has been created based on analysis of the state of and prospects for the country's development. The course of restructuring has become a job for the majority of Soviet people. An intensive quest is on at plants, construction sites, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes for new forms of labor organization and remuneration. There is more exactingness at collectives and a greater interest in strengthening order and discipline, and the civic stance of working people is being demonstrated more and more actively. All this is of decisive importance for renewal of all aspects of society's life and for resolution of our tasks today and tomorrow.

The party has resolutely condemned the widespread practice of bragging and ostentation. It is all the more gratifying to know that the first practical results are already visible along the road of restructuring and that positive shifts are taking place in the socioeconomic sphere. Production growth rates in industry have increased. Agriculture, particularly stockraising, has started to develop more stably, and more than 210 million tonnes of grain have been harvested under exceptionally unfavorable climatic conditions in most parts of the country. All this has made it possible to embark on implementation of major measures in the social sphere.

Noting these positive improvements, we recognize that the main work lies ahead. Now, at the new stage of restructuring, we must redouble our efforts and persistently resolve the task of renewing society. It is a question of ensuring that the policy worked out by the party and supported by the whole people is implemented in practice.

Now more than ever, the words of the poet that a revolution has a beginning but no end are in keeping with the times. We are resolving truly revolutionary tasks. They encompass the entire panorama of life within the country. They are also aimed at the sphere of international relations. The entire world can see for itself that new thinking and resolute rejection of old dogmas in international policy are now a vital necessity and historic reality, and are winning more and more people over.

In celebrating the Great October jubilee, we are looking to the future with optimism. We are profoundly convinced that the cause of the revolution is invincible!

70th Anniversary of October Hailed

PM111741 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Revolution Marches On"]

[Text] A great and splendid festival has arrived in our cities and villages—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. On the day of the glorious jubilee, Soviet people emotionally reflect on the unforgettable year of 1917, scrutinize the entire path covered by the homeland since the victory of October, and turn their gaze to the future.

History has seen many events of unfading significance for the destinies of individual countries and the whole of mankind. But none can compare in terms of its dimensions and transforming power with the one that took place in Russia 70 years ago. Great October heralded the start of a new era in the life of mankind and was an unparalleled surge of the masses' historic creativity and the shining hour of a victorious people who had cast off the yoke of exploitation. The victory of October established unprecedented foundations for people's social life: the power of the working people, social ownership of the means of production, collectivism, and comradely mutual assistance. These revolutionary transformations represent an inexhaustible source of strength for socialism and of its historic accomplishments.

The vast experience of the world's first socialist country, the most profound changes that have taken place in it, and the current face of our homeland were revealed in a full and balanced manner in CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's report at the meeting in the Kremlin to celebrate the 70th anniversary of Great October. The Soviet people had to endure the severest tests. But, guided by Lenin's party, they came through with honor, made the homeland a mighty power, and upheld their freedom and their way of life in very fierce battles against the enemy. Every generation of Soviet people has made its contribution to developing, strengthening, and defending the gains of the revolution.

We will always remember those who were the first to storm the Old World, who seized the Winter Palace, and fought the White Guards and the foreign interventionists on the fronts of the civil war.

We admire the achievements of the enthusiasts of the first 5-year plans, the builders of Magnitka and Dneproges, Uralmash and Komsomolsk-na-Amure, and other industrial giants, creators of collective agriculture, fashioners of socialist culture. Overcoming enormous difficulties, they laid the foundation of that strength which then enabled the country to be saved from a deadly peril, which enabled socialism to be saved.

The exploit by Soviet people, at the war front and on the home front, in the grim years of the Great Patriotic War will never be forgotten. Millions of sons and daughters of the homeland rose up and fought against the fascist aggressors. They pushed themselves to the limit and beyond to perform their patriotic and international duty and gain a world-historic victory.

We are also proud of the labor valor of participants of the postwar restoration of destroyed cities and villages and the revival and strengthening of a country which surprised the world with the conquest of atomic energy and the first spacecraft launches.

But our deeds and destinies have sometimes been difficult and problematic. We have seen great victories and bitter failures. But neither the mistakes nor the deviations from the principles of socialism were able to dislodge the people and the country from the road of October.

Today the Soviet people and our party, following Lenin's teaching, are continuing the cause of the October Revolution through restructuring and renewal of all spheres of social life. Effecting a change for the better with revolutionary determination in the country and in all aspects of Soviet people's lives—this is the course set by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The 27th CPSU Congress gave a profound, Leninist analysis of the period and provided guidelines for the way forward. The country has found new inspiration, the moral atmosphere in society is becoming purer, and spiritual life is becoming more diverse. A major step forward has been taken in development of socialist democratism. Glasnost, veracity, criticism, and exactingness are asserting themselves.

In the course of restructuring, especially now, at the crucial time, there is no avoiding a struggle between what is new and advanced and what is old and outmoded, a struggle against conservative forces' resistance. But the chief factor determining the attitude of the majority of Soviet people at the present stage is support for restructuring and demands for its steady advance. There is a growing commitment by workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia to productive labor and to the struggle for effective, high-quality work, for discipline and against mismanagement and irresponsibility. The collectives of a number of enterprises have fulfilled their socialist pledges in honor of the 70th anniversary of October. Despite the adverse weather conditions, it has been possible to harvest more than 210 million tonnes of grain. Housing construction has increased and working people's incomes are increasing. While satisfied with certain positive changes, Soviet people realize at the same time that it is only the beginning of restructuring, that a great deal more effort and energy, principledness and efficiency, steadfastness and tenacity in attaining goals will be needed to implement all that has been planned.

The cause of October lives on not only in the Soviet people's accomplishments. It lives on in the successes of the socialist countries, in the deeds of the fraternal communist and workers parties, in the peoples' national liberation struggle, and in the movements of all the world's progressive, peace-loving forces. There is no task more important today than that of safeguarding peace and universal security, of combating the arms race and the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union, the homeland of October, is concentrating all its authority and international influence on the attainment of these goals, on the struggle for peace, displaying realism and flexibility and guided by new political thinking.

The current international situation remains complex and acute. The reactionary forces of imperialism have not abandoned the position-of-strength policy and their aggressive plans vis-a-vis socialism. As long as the danger of war remains, as long as social revenge remains the pivot of the West's strategy and militarist programs, our party and people will continue to do everything necessary to maintain the country's defense might at a level that precludes imperialist military superiority over socialism.

Our Armed Forces are the defenders of socialism and the gains of October. The present-day situation and revolutionary restructuring in the country have presented them with new tasks in increasing combat readiness and strengthening military discipline and organization. The Soviet troops are working hard to carry out these tasks.

Throughout 70 years, the Leninist party has been at the head of the Soviet people. In the days of October, along the entire pioneering path of building socialism, and in the current restructuring period, it was and remains the political, ideological, and moral vanguard of our society. It is directing its experience, energy, its revolutionary thought, and political will into fuller exploitation of socialism's potential for the benefit of Soviet people, for a happy future.

When the young Soviet republic greeted the first anniversary of Great October, V.I. Lenin sent the working people on their way with the words: "Much has been done, but much still remains to be done. Carry on more boldly, comrades, along the path you have been traveling!..." Today, on the 70th anniversary of our revolution, Soviet people can proudly say: Yes, we have marched and we are marching boldly along the path of October, and we are being led along that path by the Communist Party.

Colonel General Volkogonov Speaks on GOSR

OW090702 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2258 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Talk by Colonel General V.K. Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy;from the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program; date and place not given — recorded]

[Text] Why do people celebrate a jubilee? I thought of this often and reached the conclusion that they are celebrated because all of us have a past. The roots of the people, society, and the country are always in the past. We live now, we think of the future, but our roots are in the past. Jubilees are celebrated because people wish to make use, and do make use, of past experiences. Perhaps we are what we are today because October did take place, because Bolsheviks did exist, and we did avail ourselves to the unprecedented revolutionary experience. I think we also celebrate jubilees because we are constantly thinking about the future. Because we are forever attempting to lift the veil from things forthcoming. So, with much satisfaction, did I received the answers to these questions by listening to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the solemn meeting that took place on 2 to 3 November in the Palace of Congress.

What made a very big impression on me is the fact that the speech outlined in essence the integral concept, the historic concept of socialism — how it developed and its stages. For there are many debates to this day among the historians, scientists, writers, artists, and people in general about many of our difficult stages, the stages of our history. I think that the speech contained many fundamental appraisals. When one listens to this speech, then one sees that the revolution was fundamentally different from all other revolutions in history. There have been many revolutions. The mosaic of history is exceptionally rich, and all revolutions prior to this one, invariably ended with one form of exploitation replacing the previous one. Even the beautiful slogan Freedom, equality, fraternity — as was proclaimed by the bourgeois revolution last century, in the final analysis, its worth was little, because exploitation remained. Ours was the first revolution that abolished, eliminated, and destroyed exploitation of man by man.

I also think that it is extraordinarily important that our revolution was fortunate to have, at its head, a genius such as Lenin. I think that Lenin's premature demise has predetermined, to a great extent, many of the difficulties that arose later. Yes, it was Lenin who left us the concept of socialist construction. Brilliant work was done, and plans were made for us on how to build socialism. In fact, in the early stages, many of Lenin's comrades in arms, in a hard, cruel, ideological, and political struggle by and large preserved the concept of building socialism. However, at one stage or another, something very important was missed. Lenin placed exceptionally high value on the idea of people's rule, on democracy. However, there was a stage when there was a lapse of memory or, perhaps,these questions were relegated to a lower level of importance. This perhaps was the fist source of many of the ills that made themselves so conspicuously felt in the thirties.

I wish to say that it seems that all of us heard, with a great deal of satisfaction, the words that there has not been a single generation that has lived in vain. The input of each generation in the cause of our revolution, our fatherland, is clear for all to see. Sometimes, some of our artists say that the collectivization and industrialization was too fast, that there were too many victims. Yes, invariably, there is sorrow for the victims. However, history gave use no respite. We were forced to hurry. If we would have failed, in a short period of time, to have made a gigantic leap forward then, I think, we would have had difficulties in withstanding the pressure of imperialism. In this, our party and the Central Committee have fully succeeded in implementing the forced [forsirovannyy], accelerated building of socialism.

As for the tragic thirties, specifically 1937 and 1938, then, at first glance, it is even difficult to explain what could possibly have caused this. The victory of the revolutionary gains of socialism have already been largely ensured. We know that already there were the likes of Pashen, [name indistinct], flights over the North Pole, Papanin, Dneproges, and the Stakhanovites and the revolutionary labor pathos. Simultaneously and without warning, the tornados of repression. Who was the repression aimed at? Members of the party, Lenin's comrades in arms, leading military commanders. All these were simply honest people. It was well-said in the speech that this can never be forgiven. At the same time we have to see our history as it is, because it is our history no matter how difficult it is.

Past history cannot be changed; the film of life cannot be rewound. We must accept it as it is. However, we also must appraise it correctly and draw the appropriate conclusions for the future.

In this context, I feel that the celebrations of Great October have enriched us all with a clearer understanding of the essentials of the historic path we have traveled, as well as a clearer understanding of the many personalities involved. At the same time, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech is on revolution and on restructuring, for restructuring is also a revolution. It is a bloodless one to be sure, but a revolution of means and methods of approach. We know full well that this revolution, this restructuring and renewal is working, although perhaps not in the way we would like. See for yourself. There is a growth of political activity. We are assuming responsibilities. Often I speak to the enlisted personnel and officers. Previously, I never had to answer 50, 60, and up to 100 questions. This is an indicator of the growth of social, moral, and political activity. We know that already results have been noted in the economy and in other areas. We know that the training year in the Army is drawing to an end and positive results on a number of questions have been noted. At the same time there is still much to be achieved.

What other thoughts occurred to me while I was listening to the speech? I would have to say that the word restructuring is not an abstract concept. It depends on all of us. As I understand it, the main instrument and mechanism of restructuring is to be true to one's duty — civil, party, military, family, and social duties. If we think about it, if all of us always fulfill our duties, then many of the problems that are plaguing us today would, like the autumn leaves, simply disappear. We must fulfill our duty, and exhibit a high degree of social responsibility.

As a member of the military, I found the section dealing with contemporary world of particular interest. The world is complex. Imperialism remains, and its nature has not changed. Militarization continues, but at the same time possibilities of preventing this are arising. Certainly, this question is open to debate. Time will tell whether we will be able to block the forces that give rise to wars. We must struggle for this. The armed forces—our Army and Navy —play a very large role in this defense mechanism because, while we are capable of maintaining the military strategic parity, while we are capable of ensuring security, there are reasons to think that peace will be strengthened and preserved. The role of the Army in ensuring favorable foreign conditions is enormous. I think that we will all very carefully study the speech, materials and the 70th anniversary of October. We have come a long way. Seventy years is a great deal of time in the life of a man, but in the life of state, it means that we are still young. I think that our world outlook, our attitudes have been enriched, and this will help us to reach greater heights, to climb new peaks.

Pham Hung Article on Great October

BK111516 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Article:"Seventy Glorious Years of the October Revolution" by Pham Hung, member of CPV Central Committee Political Bureau and Chairman of SRV Council of Ministers]

[Text] The past 70 years since the victory of the October Revolution marked a fundamental turning point in the history of human society and opened a new era, that of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale.

Lenin said: With the October Revolution, the Russian Bolsheviks made a breakthrough from old and decadent capitalism. The victory of the October Revolution has strikingly pointed out the positively revolutionary spirit and profoundly scientific character which is the nature and source of invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism.

On the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, President Ho Chi Minh said: Like a shining sun, the October Revolution illuminates all the five continents and awakens millions of millions of oppressed and exploited people on earth. In the history of mankind, there has never been a revolution of such great significance and farsightedness.

Seventy years ago, Soviet Russia was the sole socialist country in the world. Socialism has now become a world system of great material and spiritual strength and a factor in deciding the trend of development for human society. Marxist-Leninist ideologies that have been materialized in real life in the Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries have an increasingly stronger persuasive strength to win the hearts and minds of millions of people on earth.

Never before in the history of human society have scientific and technological achievements been as glorious and marvellous as they are in our era. The Soviet contributions to this area are extremely great. The Soviet Union has surged forward to occupy many peaks of modern technology and has brought these achievements to serve human happiness. The Soviet Union was the country that blazed the trail for man to conquer an immense universe. Faced with the demands of life, the Soviet people, and the world socialist community, and faced with the future of mankind and the challenges of the era at a time when mankind is nearing the end of the 20th century and is going to enter the 21st century, the CPSU has manifested a higher and farther range of vision concerning the important issues of the Soviet Union as well as the whole world. With such a range of vision, the CPSU's 27th Congress marked an important turning point in the life of the Soviet Union and today's world.

The congress manifested an outstanding renovation in thinking concerning the consideration and assessment of fundamental issues in the fields of domestic and foreign affairs. It cited the great achievements scored by the Soviet people in all areas and, at the same time straightforwardly and openly pointed out shortcomings and sluggishness in the socioeconomic operations. Proceeding from new analyses, reviews, and research, the CPSU outlined the strategy of overall reorganization in order to expedite the process of comprehensively developing the Soviet Union. The completely revolutionary spirit, the profoundly scientific character, and the courageous attitude of the CPSU in putting forth and perseveringly following the line of reorganization constitute a shining example for all fraternal parties.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries and the world people, the party, state, and people of Vietnam follow with warm sympathy the reorganization campaign in the Soviet Union. We are happy to see that the correct line of reorganization is like a new gust of wind full of vitality blowing over the activities of the Soviet Union. We are firmly convinced that the reorganization campaign of the fraternal Soviet people will certainly be a glorious success.

The renovation of political thinking by the Soviet Union in the field of foreign relations is prominently reflected by its policy of establishing a system of comprehensive international security. Just as Comrade Gorbachev stressed: The evolution of history and social progress urgently call for constructive and creative coordination among countries and nations throughout the world.

In such a spirit, the Soviet Union put forth a famous declaration proposing a general program for eliminating nuclear weapons throughout the world until the year of 2,000 and many other important peace initiatives including the famous proposal by Comrade Gorbachev in Vladivostok for a broad program aimed at safeguarding security and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific.

The constructive Soviet stand at the Soviet-U.S.talks has led to the recent results attained in principle in the agreement between the Soxiet Union and the United States on eliminating medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. The Vietnamese party, state, and people fully agree with and support the positive initiatives and noble acts full of the sense of responsibility which the Soviet Union has accomplished for the sake of peace and the future of mankind.

During these days when the Soviet people are enthusiastically commemorating the 70th October Revolution anniversary with such practical acts as accelerating the implementation of the CPSU's 27th Congress resolutions, the Vietnamese people also link the October Revolution anniversary to their struggle to achieve victory in the implementation of the CPV's Sixth Congress resolution.

During General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Gorbachev's meeting with General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee "Comrade Nguyen Van Linh on 19 May 1987 in Moscow, Comrade Gorbachev pointed out the connection between the Soviet revolution and the Vietnamese revolution: Although our two countries have different levels of development, today the Soviet and Vietnamese Communists have a common slogan, that of renovation and reorganization, and this is understandable. A socialist country—no matter at what stage of development—has only one effective method of accelerating progress, to resolutely get rid of the old working method, bring into full play the people's creative strength and mastery, and exploit the latent potentials of socialism.

Strongly encouraged by the example of the CPSU's 27th Congress, the CPV's Sixth Congress held frank and democratic discussions, correctly assessed all aspects of the situation in the country in the spirit of looking squarely at the truth, correctly evaluating the truth, and speaking the truth; and set forth for the entire party the duty of renovating thinking, organization, and work behavior.

Since the end of the sixth party congress, a new impetus has arisen in our country which is aimed at victoriously implementing the party's correct policies by practical deeds in life. The movements to oppose negative phenomena in social life, restore order and discipline, accelerate production, and practice thrift; and the campaign to purify and enhance the militancy of the party, the management efficiency of state machinery, and social relations have brought about some initial results. Since only a short time has passed and not many results have been achieved, there are still quite a number of difficulties and complications. However, the general situation is moving in the right direction and we are firmly convinced that with the singlemindedness and unified action of all the party members and people, the situation will gradually change for the better.

One of the basic conditions to ensure the victorious implementation of the immediate and distant tasks of the Vietnamese people is to intensify and further enhance the effectiveness of cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, primarily the relations of comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union in all fields. This spirit is reflected in a statement by Comrade Nguyen Van Linh during his meeting with Comrade Gorbachev: It is certain that with the spirit of renovation of our two parties' congresses, Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation in days ahead will develop qualitatively a step further, will expand daily on a larger scale under fruitful forms, and become even more effective, thus efficiently helping to build and perfect socialism in our two countries, and to consolidate the world socialist community.

Today in Vietnam from the northern border to the extreme south, from the central highlands forests and mountains to the offshore Eastern Sea area, the vivid symbols of Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation relations and of the great and effective assistance of the fraternal Soviet party, Government, and people to the Vietnamese people can be seen everywhere: the Hoa Binh hydroelectric power project, the Bim Son cement plant, the Tri An hydroelectric power project, the Vung Tau oil project, the Thang Long bridge, and hundreds of other economic and cultural projects. Those are concrete proofs of the solidarity and Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state toward the fraternal Vietnamese people.

In the new stage, we have given special attention to increasing the effectiveness of the economic cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. With this in mind, we are striving to overcome the shortcomings in management and workstyles, to effectively implement those projects agreed upon by the two countries, and to collaborate with the Soviet side in working out new measures aimed at further promoting cooperation in the future.

Acting in line with the path traced by the October Revolution, our party and state have perseveringly adopted a foreign policy of peace and friendship and have always considered great solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union to be the cornerstone and an unchangeable principle of that policy and a manifestation of the profound sentiments of our party, state, and people.

Being a Southeast Asian country, the SRV fully supports Comrade Gorbachev's 28 July 1986 statement in Vladivystok on the establishment of a peace and security system in the Asia-Pacific area and will try its best to contribute to making that initiative come true.

We consider efforts to consolidate the special relations between Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and to promote solidarity, respect for the independence and sovereignty of each individual country, comprehensive cooperation, and mutual assistance in the area of national defense are a matter of survival for the three fraternal nations. These efforts create conditions for firmly defending the forefront of the socialist community in Southeast Asia and for contributing to preserving peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

Vietnam believes that the Cambodian issue should be settled through a sensible and equitable political solution based on the recognition of the Cambodian people's right to independence, self-determination, and national reconciliation. Any solutions to the Cambodian problem and issues concerning Vietnam and the ASEAN countries must be prompted by goodwill, common sense, and friendship and cooperation for the sake of peace, stability, and security in the region.

The Vietnamese and Chinese peoples have been tied together by a long-standing friendly relationship and have more than once achieved solidarity and mutual assistance in the struggle against imperialism and for national independence and national construction. It is our desire to persist in the struggle aimed at quickly normalizing the relations between the two countries, for the sake of peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

The Vietnamese Communists and people firmly believe that the Soviet Communist party, state, and people will score new historic victories, develop Lenin's country a step further, and continue to make the lofty ideals of the October Revolution come true.

It is certain that by acting in line with the path traced by the October Revolution, the Vietnamese people will successfully build socialism and firmly defend their socialist fatherland.

The spirit of the October Revolution will last forever because it stemmed from a doctrine bearing the psychology of the era, which is Marxism-Leninism.

Political & Social

Politburo Discusses GOSR Events, Arms Talks

LD121956 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] In the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. At a regular sitting held on 12 November, the Politburo examined the results of the events held in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A decision adopted on this matter notes that the jubilee celebrations were a major political event. They vividly demonstrated the elevated spiritual mood of the Soviet people, its cohesion around the Communist Party, and its powerful support for the course of accelerating, restructuring, and rejuvenating all spheres of our society's life.

The celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October confirmed the great international prestige of the CPSU and the Soviet state, the ever-growing interest on the part of the world public in the ideas and course of the restructuring being implemented in the USSR, and our country's leading role in the struggle for peace and social progress.

It was stressed that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report at the festive meeting, October and the Restructuring: The Revolution Continues, is of fundamentally important political significance for the whole of the party's activity and the life of Soviet society. From a standpoint of revolutionary dialectics and creative Marxism-Leninism, the report profoundly reveals historical experience and comprehensively examines the principal problems of domestic and world development. It testifies to the party's political courage and moral strength, directs one toward a decisive rejection of existing theoretical dogmas and stereotypes, and stimulates a creative search for a new ways of developing science and practice. The report contains a constructive program for the implementation of the CPSU's general course of restructuring, and of ensuring stable peace on earth.

The Politburo pointed out that the attention of the party, local soviet and economic bodies, and of trade union and Komsomol organizations should be centered around the key problems determining the fate of the restructuring—the democratization of public life and radical economic reform. Stress was laid on the need to resolutely put an end to the political and organizational sluggishness and the lack of initiative of a considerable number of party committees and their leaders. To this aim, full use should be made of the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

The October festivities demonstrated the effectiveness of the course of the CPSU toward the fullest development of relations with socialist states, and the deepening of interaction with them on the basis of the principles established by the working meeting of the leaders of the fraternal parties of the CEMA member countries in Moscow in November 1986.

The Politburo noted the exclusive importance of the meeting of representatives of parties and movements that took part in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October. In the spirit of the principled course elaborated by the 27th Congress, the CPSU's desire to develop relations with communist and workers', revolutionary-democratic, socialist, socialist-democratic, and labor parties, and mass democratic organizations and movements, was affirmed.

Reflecting the important changes in the world situation, in public opinion, and in progressive political tendencies, the meeting marked the start of a broad dialogue of international leftist forces, and the establishment of contacts between them, primarily for the sake of removing the military threat, and the resolution of other fundamental problems common to humanity.

The Politburo approved the results of the meetings and conversations between the Soviet leadership and a number of leaders of parties and states who were in Moscow on the occasion of the anniversary of October. In an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, and in the spirit of new thinking, key problems of international politics and issues of deepening bilateral relations were discussed. Agreement was reached on the general appraisal of the international situation and with respect to specific directions of cooperation.

The general plan for the development of the city of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast for the period up to 2005 was considered and approved at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. It was noted that in its elaboration, the comprehensive development of the city and the oblast had been envisioned for the first time, with a combination of economic, social, and town planning. The long-term development of a most major region of the country should be implemented on the basis of the interdependency of the problems of the further growth of scientific-technological and industrial potential, and the development of the social sphere, cultural construction, and of its own food supply base. The general plan maps out the rational layout, on the territory of the city and the oblast, of facilities connected with the work, everyday life and leisure of the population, and the improvement of architecture and town planning on the basis of the careful preservation of historic traditions in the restoration and reconstruction of unique historical artistic monuments of the city of Leningrad and its suburbs.

The Politburo considered and approved the results of the Soviet-U.S. talks that took place in Moscow in October, and continued in Washington. It was stressed that the new fundamental proposals in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, expounded by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in a conversation with the U.S. secretary of state and developed in the message from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to U.S. President Reagan, which was conveyed by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, create the necessary objective prerequisites for the forthcoming substantive and constructive summit dialogue.

The Soviet leadership intends to pursue the matter to ensure that the signing of the first treaty in history on the elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons is accompanied by an achievement on the platform formulated in Reykjavik—palpable results in the sphere of a deep reduction in strategic offensive weapons under conditions of the strict observance of the ABM Treaty, which is of fundamental significance for maintaining strategic stability and also for strengthening the foundations for the smoothing-out and the onward development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

In approving the results of the regular session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee, which was held in Prague on 28 and 29 October, the Politburo noted with satisfaction that the position of the USSR at the talks with the United States on nuclear and space armaments has the unamimous support of its allies. It was stated that the allied states confirmed their determination to strive for the formation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security and are in favor of ensuring the security of all states on an equal basis and in all spheres of international relations.

A report was considered on the visit to the United States by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet with Comrade Nikonov at its head. The importance was noted of broadening trade and economic links in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex between Soviet organizations and enterprises and U.S. companies.

The meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo also considered certain other questions concerning our country's domestic and foreign policies.

Moscow Gorkom Plenum Berates Yeltsin

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[TASS report: "Vigorously Carrying Out Restructuring"]

[Text] The Moscow party gorkom plenum took place in a spirit of party frankness, principle, and free exchange of opinions. It discussed the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee October (1987) Plenum on Comrade B.N. Yeltsin.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the plenum on this question. He gave a briefing on the party Central Committee plenum held on 21 October this year, at which questions connected with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and certain current tasks of restructuring were submitted for examination.

The Central Committee Politburo, M.S. Gorbachev said, saw it as necessary to demonstrate the historic significance of October and make a detailed analysis of everything accomplished in the 7 decades since October. It was important to reveal in all its fullness the difficult, pioneering path of the Soviet people and the Leninist party, to relate it to our present-day concerns and deeds, and to give an all-around interpretation of the lessons of the past. It was incumbent on us to study carefully the complex events of past years, since otherwise there can be no honest and truthful policy, there can be no successful progress.

In approaching the jubilee the Politburo deemed it necessary once again to evaluate the course of the restructuring and some of the results of the revolutionary transformations for which the party Central Committee April (1985) plenum laid the foundations, and to analyze work in implementing the course of the 27th party congress. It was planned to examine how the key problems of society's development are being tackled, problems on which the fate of the restructuring depends crucially. This means, first and foremost, the democratization of public life and radical economic reform.

The main propositions of the report devoted to the 70th anniversary of October were unanimously approved by the Central Committee plenum.

There was also full support from the Central Committee members for the Politburo's ideas on the nature and significance of the present moment, the course and pace of the restructuring, and its next tasks. It was stressed that in the main the first, initial stage of the restructuring has been completed—the stage of elaborating the party's new course and creating its ideological, theoretical, and organizational platform. The main thing now is the practical implementation of the program that has been elaborated. From this viewpoint, it was said at the party Central Committee plenum, the next 2-3 years will be decisive and in this sense critical. Basically this will be a test of the ability of the party, its Central Committee, all party, soviet, and economic cadres, and also the labor collectives to ensure the successful implementation of the decisions elaborated on radical questions of the restructuring.

The Central Committee plenum drew attention to the fact that in this difficult period we must simultaneously resolve a range of interconnected tasks covering the economy, the social and spiritual spheres, and the development of all that concerns the democratization of Soviet society.

The work load will indeed increase, and the party, the cadres, and all the labor collectives must be ready for this. This stage must proceed successfully in order to uncover extensive new opportunities for accelerating the restructuring, first and foremost in the economic sphere, and thus to ensure reliable preconditions for the resolution of major socioeconomic tasks and for society's transition to a fundamentally new condition. I wish to emphasize once again that the Central Committee members were united on all these questions.

A dissonant note was struck by the statement made at the plenum by Comrade B.N. Yeltsin. He said that he has no observations to make on the report and that he supports it fully, but would like to touch on a number of questions that have come to his notice in his time on the Politburo. It should be said, M.S. Gorbachev went on, that as a whole Comrade Yeltsin's speech was politically immature and extremely confused and contradictory. The speech did not contain a single constructive proposal and was based not on analysis and facts, but on distortions, and in essence, as the Central Committee members assessed it, it was demagogic in its content and nature.

Comrade Yeltsin basically tried to call into question the party's work on restructuring since the Central Committee April plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress and the nature of the current changes, and went so far as to say that the restructuring effectively does nothing for people.

In Comrade Yeltsin's opinion, the Central Committee plenum's aim of implementing the tasks of the new stage of the restructuring in the next 2-3 years is erroneous and disorients the party and the masses. Here he displayed complete theoretical and political helplessness in analyzing the course of the restructuring, and proved incapable of understanding that in this enormous job of renewing Soviet society, the party and all the working people have to resolve both long-term and medium-term tasks and achieve a marked improvement in the next few years in satisfying the people's urgent needs. All his arguments basically amounted to pompous talk. In particular, in his opinion, the party leadership lacks "revolutionary vigor" in implementing the restructuring.

There was a particularly sharp reaction among Central Committee members to Comrade Yeltsin's attempts to represent in a distorted light the work and the atmosphere in the Central Committee Politburo, first and foremost on questions concerning the principles of collegiality.

Naturally, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, in itself the fact of a Central Committee member's speaking out at a plenum with criticisms of the Politburo, the Secretariat, and individual comrades should not be seen as anything out of the ordinary. It is normal. In this respect our position is unequivocal: In the party there should be no zones closed to criticism or workers protected from it. We will continue to develop criticism and self-criticism at all levels.

In this case, what happened was something entirely different. At a crucial political moment, when the Central Committee's attention was focused on fundamental questions of the theory and practice of our development, Comrade Yeltsin tried to lead the plenum's work in a different direction, declaring his own special position on a number of questions.

In view of the nature of Comrade Yeltsin's statement at the plenum, it was decided to conduct an exchange of opinions. Twenty-six Central Committee members took part in the discussion.

I must say, M.S. Gorbachev went on, that Comrade Yeltsin's speech aroused perplexity and indignation among the Central Committee members. The plenum displayed complete unanimity in assessing this speech, deeming it to be politically erroneous. Not one of those who spoke supported Comrade Yeltsin. The main question formulated by the Central Committee members was this: Can Comrade Yeltsin really see nothing positive in the country's life since the Central Committee April plenum?

The plenum participants said that a new atmosphere has been created in our society, and is continuing to improve. Activeness is springing up among the people, the party is emerging from a state of prolonged stagnation, and processes of democratization and glasnost are in progress. All this is of decisive significance for the country's fate. In 2 and 1/2 years the theory and policy of restructuring have been elaborated. In every respect this has been an exceptionally fruitful time in the life of the party and the whole of society.

But we were not only engaged in formulating the political and socioeconomic strategy of restructuring. Major national programs have been elaborated and are being introduced on the development of machine building and computer equipment and on increasing the production of consumer goods. The practice of state acceptance has widened, which is having a positive effect on the quality of goods. A major event was the adoption of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

The new methods of economic management and the new economic mechanism create real conditions for increasing the efficiency of social production.

For all the difficulties, opportunities have been found for resolving certain urgent social questions. Of course, there are still difficulties with food, but there has been an increase in the production of agricultural produce. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan the pace of housing construction increased, and additional capital investments were switched over to this area. In 1987 housing commissioning will be 15% up on 1985. Wages for medical personnel and teachers, student grants, and also pensions are increasing, and reforms are being implemented in higher and secondary education. An additional R6 billion has been allocated to the urgent needs of the health service. And these are only some of the measures in the social sphere.

The Politburo sees the main task now as shifting the center of gravity to monitoring the fulfillment of adopted decisions, to carrying out organizational work, and to stepping up demand. Not a single party organization—including the Moscow party organization—should remain beyond control.

M.S. Gorbachev then dwelt on the question of the pace of restructuring. The Central Committee June (1987) plenum concluded that the country is entering a new stage of restructuring during which we will have to overcome considerable difficulties. To that end we must step up our efforts in all directions of work. And the progress of restructuring in the time ahead will largely depend on how skillful and vigorous our actions are during this period.

Pondering on what happened with Comrade Yeltsin, M.S. Gorbachev continued, one cannot help remembering Lenin's warnings about the high responsibility of leaders and the accuracy of their political positions. Vladimir Ilich once said that there is an objective logic of struggle, which "inevitably leads even the best people—if they insist on the incorrect position they have adopted—to a position which to all intents and purposes is indistinguishable from unprincipled demagoguery."

That is indeed the case in life, when mistakes spring from personal ambitions and the desire to stand out, and if things do not go as they should and the people in question have to be corrected, they start to dig in their heels and give free rein to their own ambition. Then mistakes occur, are exacerbated, and may turn into an unacceptable position.

I think that we are dealing with just such a situation here. Comrade Yeltsin placed his personal ambitions above the interests of the party. Incidentally, he had these manifestations pointed out to him by the Politburo, and he promised to draw the necessary lessons. But, as we can see, these promises were not worth very much. In the overall opinion of Central Committee members, the irresponsible and immoral actions of Comrade Yeltsin were damaging the thing we need most just now—the pooling of all forces and the mobilization of all potential in order to resolve the major tasks of restructuring.

At the end of his plenum speech Comrade Yeltsin stated that his work in the Central Committee Politburo was not working out for various reasons—"lack of experience and, perhaps, lack of support." He posed the question of being released from his duties as candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo.

Certain explanations are needed here, M.S. Gorbachev continued, starting with the fact that I knew about Comrade Yeltsin's intention to resign before the Central Committee plenum. While on vacation, I received a letter from him containing a request to resolve the question of his continuing both in the Politburo and in the post of first secretary of Moscow party gorkom. After returning from vacation I talked with Comrade Yeltsin and we agreed that it was not the time to discuss the question and that we would meet and discuss everything after the October holidays. Nonetheless, Comrade Yeltsin, violating party and purely human ethics, decided to raise the issue directly at the plenum, bypassing the Politburo.

As for the motive which Comrade Yeltsin puts forward as the reason for his resignation—lack of support from the Central Committee Secretariat—it should be said bluntly that this statement is quite absurd and does not correspond with reality.

M.S. Gorbachev went on to note that the CPSU Central Committee sees the Moscow party organization as a reliable bulwark in the implementation of the party's general line. It is from this position that the Politburo approaches all questions concerning the activity of the city party organization and the interests of the capital's working people. These are examined in the most attentive way by the Politburo and government.

The members of the Moscow party gorkom know that immediately after the city party conference the Central Committee Politburo adopted a resolution supporting the city party organization's efforts in instilling order in the city, eradicating negative phenomena, and solving urgent problems in the economy, the social sphere, and other areas. Corresponding instructions were then issued to central and republic organs.

The CPSU Central Committee examined and approved the concept of the comprehensive socioeconomic development of Moscow City in the period through the year 2000. It was deemed necessary to draw up in 1987-1988 a plan for the development of Moscow and Moscow Oblast as a single economic complex for the period through 2010.

The question of the comprehensive reconstruction of Moscow's historic city center in the period through the year 2000 was also examined. A USSR Council of Ministers resolution was adopted on this question. Questions linked with the formation of a public cultural center on a site adjoining Red Square were resolved separately.

The Central Committee Politburo supported Moscow CPSU Gorkom's proposal regarding the elimination of the existing disproportions in the city infrastructure by Moscow's 850th anniversary. There are plans for a considerable expansion in the scale of the construction of housing and trade, public health, education, and municipal services projects, for the removal from Moscow of certain production units that do not conform with zoning regulations and are harmful, and for relieving city construction organizations from performing work outside the Moscow zone. The question of ensuring that the union republics and construction organizations from the CEMA countries take part in the construction and reconstruction of major projects in the capital is being studied.

Large-scale measures to improve the quality of medical aid to the population and improve the work of the capital's public health institutions, to improve supplies of fruit and vegetable produce and potatoes to the population, and to supply water have been formulated.

The city is being given substantial assistance in resolving one of the most acute problems—improving transport services. Measures to develop the Moscow subway and the Moscow railroad terminal have been formulated. The government is examining questions connected with developing city road [nazemnyy] passenger transportation in Moscow in 1988-1990.

Measures are being studied to strengthen the material and technical base and build up the capacities of construction organizations, develop the food and baked goods industry, and radically improve trade and public catering. It is planned to substantially strengthen the material and scientific and technical base of a number of educational and scientific establishments.

That is by no means a complete list of the questions relating to Moscow that have already been resolved or are currently being examined. We have acted in this way so far, and we shall continue to act in this way.

The question naturally arises: Why has this happened? What are the reasons for such behavior by Comrade Yeltsin? The Politburo carefully analyzed this question and concluded that the reasons lie primarily in his understanding of restructuring and the methods by which it should be carried out.

His critical approach toward shortcomings and his resolute statements about rapidly overcoming the accumulated problems and getting rid of negative phenomena in the capital's life met with definite understanding and support from working people. And it must bluntly be said that this made it possible initially to achieve certain changes for the better. But it is clear that, no matter how important and crucial work to analyze past activity, criticize shortcomings, and formulate decisions may be, the most important thing is what ensures the success of work—it is constant painstaking activity by all party organizations, all cadres, and all labor collectives. But the Moscow CPSU Gorkom leadership lacked this understanding and ability to conduct matters. Under the influence of Comrade Yeltsin, the Gorkom Bureau attempted to achieve the necessary changes at one fell swoop, via pressure, hectoring, and blatant administration by decree. These, as is well known, are methods from the old arsenal and could not provide stable long-term successes.

Moreover, after initially going in for sweeping statements and promises—something that was to a considerable extent fueled by his immoderate vanity and desire to be always in the public eye—Comrade Yeltsin neglected and slackened his leadership of the city party organization and work with cadres.

Seeing that things had begun to grind to a halt and that the situation in the capital was not improving and in some respects had even deteriorated, Comrade Yeltsin tried to shift the responsibility for his own major shortcomings in work onto others—primarily onto leading cadres. The party gorkom, on Comrade Yeltsin's initiative and with his most active participation, essentially in the second phase began the cadre shakeup that he had previously been told was impermissible. At one Politburo session before the January Central Committee plenum he was warned that if what lay behind his talk of a shakeup was his practical intention regarding the Moscow city party organization, he would not receive support. At the time Comrade Yeltsin reacted to this correctly. He said literally this: "I am a young man in the Politburo. I have been taught a lesson today. I needed it. It has not come too late. And I will find the strength to draw the right conclusion."

However, he did not draw the proper conclusion. All this had a serious impact on the activity of all city organizations and on the general situation in party organizations and, as he himself admitted, led to a decline in the labor and political activeness of Communists and working people.

In general, comrades, Comrade Yeltsin's style and methods, which are characterized by pseudorevolutionary phrases and pseudodetermination, proved inadequate. As life has shown, all he was capable of was mouthing appeals and slogans, but when the time came to reinforce the words by concrete deeds what was shown was impotence, fuss, and panic. By all accounts he also sensed a decline in support from Moscow's Communists.

The CPSU Central Committee adopted the following resolution:

1. To recognize Comrade B.N. Yeltsin's speech at the Central Committee October (1987) Plenum as politically erroneous.

2. To instruct the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Moscow party gorkom to examine the question of Comrade B.N. Yeltsin's request to be released from his duties as first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom in the light of the exchange of opinions which took place at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

In accordance with the plenum's instructions, the Central Committee Politburo examined this question and after comprehensively considering the situation which has taken shape it reached a conclusion on the need to strengthen the Moscow CPSU Gorkom's leadership.

Next to speak was Moscow CPSU Gorkom member F.F. Kozyrev-Dal. When I was appointed chairman of the Moscow Agroprom, he said, I sincerely believed the words and promises of Comrade Yeltsin, secretary of the Moscow party gorkom, about supporting this work, but just 10 months later I felt compelled to begin a personal letter to Comrade Yeltsin with these words: "Because of a lack of any prospect of being received by you, I feel bound and consider it my duty as a Communist to write you a letter."

Yes, comrades, I did receive a reply to my request for a meeting on questions of the Moscow Agroprom's work although not from Comrade Yeltsin in person but via his assistant, who said that my prospects of a meeting with Comrade Yeltsin were nil.

Nor was I received even after my letter had been read, even though the letter showed in detail the entire mechanism acting as a brake on the activity of the Moscow Agroprom. The letter made a direct statement about the negative role of Comrade Nizovtsevaya, party gorkom secretary, and the lack of support for all promising areas of the Agroprom's work from the party gorkom.

Perhaps this is a coincidence? No, comrades, this is a system. A system of combatting the sober, correct, and truthful position which Yeltsin liked to speak about so much from the public platform.

It was only later that I realized that Comrade Yeltsin was not interested in projects yielding a real return. He needed instant, showy measures which created an effect even if not backed up by his own efforts. He needed prestige at any price. He did not want to consider the sober analysis of the objective situation and the trends of its development. I can only qualify that as political adventurism. Other negative phenomena snowballed. There was an intensification of the administrative and bureaucratic style of leadership on the part of the gorkom and its secretaries. Comrade Yeltsin usurped the leadership of the city party organization, elements of Bonapartism began to be displayed, and cadre policy was utterly corrupted. The only actions taken were destructive. Comrade Yeltsin came to believe in his own impunity and set himself apart from the rest by singlehandedly settling people's fates and being accountable neither to them nor to the CPSU Central Committee.

In the light of what has been said, I cannot regard Comrade Yeltsin's conduct at the Central Committee plenum as either a coincidence or a mistake. It was far from being a mistake but a calculated and well-timed stab in the back for the party Central Committee and its Politburo; one aimed at reaping ambitious political dividends. Comrade Yeltsin's act was one of frank adventurism. A betrayal of the cause of restructuring and the cohesion of our party ranks—that is how I assess Comrade Yeltsin's activity and his stance at the CPSU Central Committee plenum. On the basis of this assessment I propose that he be relieved of his duties as first secretary of the Moscow party gorkom.

What happened is to a certain extent on our consciences, too, Moscow Gorispolkom Secretary Yu.A. Prokofyev said, because we saw Comrade Yeltsin's mistakes but did not stop him in time. Here in this hall there are a good few people to whom we whispered that this was wrong, it was a mistake. But we lacked the courage to speak out at the party gorkom plenum, clearly we did not have complete faith in glasnost or restructuring.

When addressing the 27th party congress, Comrade Yeltsin said that he had not taken this stance before because he lacked the courage and political maturity. You have the courage, but you lacked political maturity then and still do today. Why is that? It is due to your character.

There are people who set themselves on a pedestal by their actions, and there are people who build themselves a pedestal by denigrating those who stand alongside them. This is the difference between the position of a true Communist and that of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. A state of struggle is characteristic of you all the time. You wallow in struggle, pressure, and aggression [natisk] all the time, you are constantly exposing someone, then you can parade on your charger in front of ordinary people. And whatever failures may occur, you nevertheless look good because you struggled, you issued warnings, you fired people. But when it comes to Comrade Yeltsin's political competence, I witnessed his meeting with the "Pamyat" society. You know what this society represents. Comrade Yeltsin invited them to the Moscow City Soviet and spoke to them. He surrendered one position after another. And to whom? To hysterical women and reactionaries [chernosotentsy]!

And what eulogies of you personally were tolerated in *Moskovskaya Pravda*—you were splendid and bold and sensitive... This is simply self-propaganda.

Moscow Communists trusted you but you did not understand this. Instead of relying on gorkom members and on the aktiv and rallying people around you, you began to dismiss cadres. What have you achieved, who are your supporters now?

Only one conclusion can be drawn: On political grounds we cannot have such a party gorkom secretary. Such a man must not be involved in political work at all.

L.I. Matveyev, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs administrator of affairs, characterized Comrade Yeltsin's conduct as political adventurism, a treacherous stab in the back for the party whose place, time, and goal were calculated. First, the time—the eve of the 70th anniversary of October, when the whole world was watching us;

the place—the supreme forum, the party Central Committee forum; and the aim—to set the Moscow city party organization against the party Central Committee and split the Politburo.

I move the following proposal. First, that the party Central Committee's decision be fully supported. Second, that Comrade Yeltsin be relieved of his duties as first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom for displaying political adventurism and political immaturity, for his attempt to split the party ranks and to set the Moscow city party organization against the party Central Committee, and for violating Leninist principles of cadre work.

V.A. Zharov, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom, supported the assessment of Comrade Yeltsin's speech at the Central Committee plenum as a blow against the party leadership, the Moscow party organization, and its authority, and a blow coming moreover at a period of most important decisions and a period of most complex, most difficult work. It is a gamble on a split. Tomorrow we will probably hear political speculation abroad and from our own people about a crisis in restructuring and we will see people trying to make Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin into a Jesus Christ figure who has suffered for his terribly revolutionary commitment to social renewal and democracy.

The members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, unlike Comrade Yeltsin, assess the situation soberly and correctly, everyone realizes that we are merely beginning the work, everyone realizes that in the interval since the congress the party Central Committee and the government have been able to create a mechanism of restructuring and that this mechanism has begun to work.

Most important decisions have been adopted and the Central Committee and the government are doing a great deal to develop Moscow, but it must be admitted, we must all clearly realize this, that this is sometimes being done at the expense of other regions.

It would seem most convenient for us members of the Moscow party gorkom to use the following argument: Like you, we did not approve of Comrade Yeltsin's speech at the Central Committee plenum, we did not hear it, it doesn't concern us, we are only voting and making an assessment today. All the same, let us ponder the fact that we are also to blame for Comrade Yeltsin's speech and greatly to blame. Our blame lies in the fact that Comrade Yeltsin gradually worked up to this speech and was making ultra left-wing and overly radical statements from the outset of his activity.

We all justified these by saying that routine must be shattered and that cadre replacements were really necessary. But then cadre replacements became sporting competitions that were reported to us: At one aktiv 30% of the first secretaries were replaced, at another 50% and at another approximately 80% went.

We all failed to draw the main conclusion for ourselves: that it was time in conditions of restructuring to use our right to criticize at the party gorkom plenum also and not only behind the scenes. We must all draw this conclusion.

Two years ago, A.I. Zemskov, first secretary of the Voroshilovskiy CPSU Raykom, pointed out in his speech, the party Central Committee recommended Boris Nikolayevich to us. I think even now that the recommendation was correct, that changes were overdue at that time in Moscow, and that a great deal has changed over these 2 years. However, I support those who said here that alarm signals linked with the first secretary's work style began to emerge increasingly clearly as time passed.

All of us here are unanimous that Comrade Yeltsin's position does not reflect the position of the Moscow party gorkom. Not only because the form of its expression was not discussed but because it also essentially does not accord with our aspirations. We do not think of ourselves in isolation from the work of the party Central Committee.

I believe that this act of misconduct [vykhodka]—there is no other word for it—is no accident but stems from Comrade Yeltsin's work style. The personal nature of his decisions, his isolation from the party aktiv, from the party gorkom members, and from the raykom secretaries—this is the prism through which his activity must be examined. It is disgraceful when for 2 years not a single raykom first secretary, to my knowledge, was able to telephone the gorkom secretary direct. For 2 years we had to report to an assistant why a raykom first secretary wanted to speak to the gorkom first secretary. Comrade Yeltsin cut himself off not only from party raykom secretaries. But how did formalism flourish? It was important to criticize, but it was no longer important who was criticized or for what—people were criticized or dismissed for a reason or for no reason. We remember this from examples involving the Kiyevskiy party raykom and the city people's control committee. And I, too, have felt all this in my own personal experience.

Lack of glasnost in work with the reserve, haste in work with cadres—it was a real merry-go-round, this is the only word for it. And when it all went around for the second and the third time, it turned into a bad joke.

We party gorkom members do not have and cannot have a line that differs from the Central Committee's. We need coherence and cohesion.

I support the party Central Committee's decision and assessments and believe that Boris Nikolayevich cannot be first secretary of Moscow party gorkom.

Academician V.S. Semenikhin, general designer at a scientific research institute, emphasized that restructuring has become the conviction of scientists and workers and that the course taken by the party at the April plenum has inspired both ordinary people and leaders. I have been on the party aktiv for many years, and I had a talk with Boris Nikolayevich right at the start, when he arrived. I wanted somehow to put him in the picture and convince him that the Moscow party organization had very strong, proven cadres who, it is true, had stagnated. It seemed to me at first that he had the correct attitude.

Do you remember how our first plenum went? Some 30 people spoke, with animation and without any constraints. But what happened next? We restructured nothing in the work of the party gorkom. Regulated plenums, preplanned speeches, the cadre merry-go-round. After 8 months I secured an audience with him and said that the gorkom members were just going through the motions and that no one discussed any questions with us before submitting them to a plenum. We were called together once a quarter. I, for example, did not once in 2 years attend the gorkom bureau on any question. Incidentally, I was not too shy to say so to certain gorkom bureau members. Hence the natural outcome.

After my conversation with Comrade Yeltsin I asked three times to speak at a plenum as a party gorkom member. The last time Boris Nikolayevich pointed to the clock: There was no time. And the speeches which were made had been planned in advance. Of course that is not democratization of our party life, it is not restructuring. In this sense we have lost time.

I fully subscribe to the decision which the CPSU Central Committee has made with regard to Comrade Yeltsin. He has gone astray and displayed political immaturity, and he must not lead the Moscow party organization.

I.M. Golovkov, first secretary of Kirovskiy CPSU Raykom, pointed out in his speech that Comrade Yeltsin is an experienced, vigorous, strong-willed, hardworking leader. People followed him, although, at the same time, the speaker recalled, there was concern about the peremptory nature of his judgments, his disregard for the principles of continuity, his inability to value people, his lack of proper tact and respect for cadres, and his inadequate patience and tolerance. All that harmed the cause to a considerable degree and caused consternation among the aktiv. No references to extreme situations can justify unfairness toward people or the relishing of mistakes and blunders on the part of comrades in the party.

Quite frankly, it is difficult now to speak with people and answer their questions. Boris Nikolayevich's actions should be regarded as a bodycheck to the cause of restructuring, a bodycheck to all Muscovites. This has always been and is a forbidden method. It shames the capital's reputation. I believed you, Boris Nikolayevich, but it is inadmissible for a politician of your rank to behave like that, and I believe that you have simply lost the right to head the capital's party organization.

I must also reproach the CPSU Central Committee. Meetings are held in many parts of the country between secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and working people and the party aktiv, and it is hard to overestimate their importance. You watch television and think to yourself: Why does this sort of thing not happen here? Why does Moscow seem to have been overlooked in the last 2 years?

Today's plenum, I am sure, will be a good lesson for us all. Above all, it is a hard lesson that responsibility and principledness must distinguish our actions every hour of every day. It is also an object lesson in internal party democracy which the CPSU Central Committee has taught us today. And it is a lesson of belief in the success of our entire restructuring.

Comrade Yeltsin forgot that he was not representing himself in the CPSU Central Committee but the more than 1 million Communists here in the capital, A.N. Nikolayev, first secretary of the Baumanskiy CPSU Raykom, said. To cast even a shadow of doubt that Muscovites might take a different position to that of the Central Committee is blasphemous. It is an enormous party crime, if you like, it cannot be described otherwise. I have thought long and hard about whether this is pure chance, but I am sure that it is not. This act reflects Comrade Yeltsin's character and mode of action.

The revolutionary nature of restructuring throws a very clear light on who is who. Who is the real leader of restructuring, who is a political fighter, and who is trying to solve his ambitious problems and achieve his ambitious aims on the wave of restructuring. Comrade Yeltsin very quickly acquired the domineering tendencies against which he fulminated at the party congress. This was a gap between words and real deeds. He soon came to believe in his own infallibity and cut himself off from the party aktiv. A total of 250 party raykom plenums were held during this crucial period, and Boris Nikolayevich attended only 2 of them. Yet these plenums were held to resolve key problems of restructuring at rayon level.

It may be said that Boris Nikolayevich visited dozens of enterprises and organizations in the city. Yes, these meetings did take place but they were purely excursions. They were limited to producing an ostentatious effect and were no more than walks through shops, laboratories, and so forth.

Instead of analysis, what became firmly established in the party gorkom was a practice of compiling dossiers whereby people zealously produced negative information [medok] for Comrade Yeltsin's file, after which this information was poured forth in long, scathing speeches at gorkom plenums, which only served to demoralize the party aktiv and induce a sense of confusion, loss of confidence, and uncertainty. This was accompanied by a cadre merry-go-round. We have lost many dedicated, experienced people—some of them irrevocably—and this lies on the conscience of Comrade Yeltsin. In general what began to be welcomed in our organization was a style whereby criticism had to border on abuse and self-criticism had to amount to self-annihilation.

Twenty-six Moscow programs loudly brought to Muscovites' attention by their authors have proved to be unbalanced, ill-considered, and a public relations exercise.

Today I cannot overemphasize the responsibility of members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau and gorkom secretaries for the situation that has taken shape. They worked alongside Yeltsin but lost their own identity and began to actively relay Comrade Yeltsin's exaggerated, excited perception of reality. I believe that we do not have the right to accept Comrade Yeltsin's resignation but we do have the right to refuse to put our trust in him.

I would like to say, I.N. Konyukhova, first secretary of the Zheleznogorozhnyy party raykom, began, that the decision of the party Central Committee is absolutely correct.

Boris Nikolayevich forgot that it is necessary to think about people. And, especially, that one should rely on one's comrades-in-arms. V.I. Lenin taught us that a Communist leader must prove his right to leadership by this alone and that he must find more and more helpers. But Comrade Yeltsin did not find them and did not even try to find them. And when people tried to help him he did not listen. On the other hand, the party Gorkom Bureau and the gorkom secretaries clearly did little to counteract this style. At the first meeting, when Comrade Yeltsin became secretary of the gorkom, he said: Your voices were hard to hear, you must speak up. So we did, but he still did not hear us.

There is no one in our country who does not love Moscow. But you, Boris Nikolayevich, unfortunately love neither Moscow nor Muscovites. You very often just flirt with people.

An unsuitable style has developed in the party gorkom. We must learn our lesson from this and combat this style. Comrade Yeltsin does not have the right to lead the Moscow city party organization.

Two years ago, V.A. Zheltov, first secretary of the Krasnogvardeyskiy party raykom recalled, when the CPSU Central Committee recommended Communist B.N. Yeltsin to us, it was in view of his best characteristics—his initiative, creativeness, and will. It must be said frankly that Comrade Yeltsin abused the trust of the Central Committee. Tremendous damage has been caused to the prestige of a large party organization.

The statement made by Comrade Yeltsin has in fact played into the hands of our opponents. They are citing it and brandishing it like a banner. This is the worst testimonial a Communist could wish for.

Clearly a sore point has come to the fore here, the problem of domination [lidertsvo]. A situation where people act according to the slogan "I came, I saw, I conquered" is untenable. This slogan is not for us.

Now about cadres. Frankly speaking, many people in the party aktiv remember not only the hard-line style, but also what might be described as a brutal approach to drafting character references when the focus is on the worst aspects. For whom are these references intended? For party comrades? It is necessary to stress a person's best qualities, to help him to prove himself.

Many of B.N. Yeltsin's professional qualities deserve respect, R.V. Zhukova, first secretary of the Zhdanovskiy CPSU Raykom noted. However, there is one very negative trait, it is distrust of one's colleagues. This distrust, this suspiciousness grew into a political approach.

It is a great pity that the party gorkom bureau proved incapable of countering the negative traits in the character of its leader when it should have stood up to him, when it should have assessed the leader's actions more critically and helped him to overcome the negative traits in his character.

Unfortunately, the party gorkom organizational department proved unequal to this task. Many assessments of the activities of party raykom first secretaries were drawn up on the basis of anonymous letters.

The tenor of the assessments of people's work was always negative and this gave rise to distrust and a colossal vaccum in cadres. We must draw conclusions from this sad political lesson in the life of the city party organization and we will not fail to do so.

It is now very important for the party gorkom to change its style of work, to ensure more trust while maintaining high exactingness and respect for party cadre workers and members of the party gorkom. It is necessary for the party aktiv to be more mature and principled and to critically assess the results of its work.

I must admit, V.V. Skitev, chief of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Party Organizational Work Department, then said, that working as chief of the department with Boris Nikolayevich was, frankly speaking, torture. The rank table always prevailed over you in demands for numerous unjustified replacements of all kinds of leaders.

We tried to resist this. We managed to save some of our comrades, to transfer them elsewhere. However, some of them we lost. Furthermore, Comrade Yeltsin engaged in political manipulation when he declared that allegedly the Central Committee had raised the question of punishing two first secretaries and expelling them from the party.

We had to report questions pertaining to work with the cadre reserve to the CPSU Central Committee Department virtually secretly since Comrade Yeltsin's interest in the cadre reserve during the 2 years dried up completely. Artificially, without approval, mainly for the sake of self-advertisement, a new party raykom structure was being set up.

I do not want to sidestep responsibility for what has happened. But working was very difficult. The organizational department was essentially transformed into an administration for serving the "diplomatic corps." It was downgraded to the compilation of papers for all kind of statements and endless speeches. As a result the department lost contact with primary organizations and party raykoms. The party gorkom bureau also lost contact. I can say that at the latest plenum it was planned on Comrade Yeltsin's initiative to expel a number of workers from the gorkom bureau despite the fact that they worked harder that other members of the bureau.

There was much window dressing. Recall the mass campaign under the slogan City Day into which we sank an enormous amount of party time, money, and effort while neglecting the report and election campaign which dealt with the key issue of how Communists were implementing restructuring. Or another example. The department prepared a whole series of proposals pertaining to the restructuring of the work of primary party organizations which were based on party raykom proposals. However, these too were discarded as unnecessary.

Two years ago, A.M. Larionov, chief of the Moscow City Main Administration for Vocational and Technical Education, said, the first steps taken by Comrade Yeltsin inspired hope and optimism. But a number of questions gradually arose. The principles and criteria that guided Boris Nikolayevich in his choice of cadres are still unclear to me. He replaced 22 raykom secretaries and sometimes simply settled scores with comrades. You were recalled from leave a week early and told that there would be a discussion about rayon problems. But instead of this you would be made to run the gauntlet of quite unexpected accusations, leaving you bewildered. We have, by the way, just heard from Comrade V.V. Skitev, but he, after all, was personally engaged in this. He was perhaps forced to do so, I don't know, but he did not have the guts to object.

Clearly the role of every member of the party gorkom bureau must be assessed personally. After all, comrades could surely have gone to the party Central Committee, which is just down the road.

I would like to talk particularly about the comprehensive targeted programs. Very many of them have been adopted, but they have been produced one after the other, without thorough preparation or any coordination. They are devoid of any economic basis. No help at all is given in implementing them. Such a style, in my opinion, is plain and simple demagoguery.

We appreciate our involvement in everything that happened in our city party organization, Moscow CPSU Gorkom Secretary A.A. Nizovtseva observed. I would like to talk about Boris Nikolayevich's actual speech at the party Central Committee plenum. I took part in the work of the plenum and witnessed the speech. It had no support and was unanimously condemned by all members of the party Central Committee. Everyone voted in favor of recognizing Comrade Yeltsin's speech as politically erroneous.

The speech has undoubtedly done serious harm to our party organization; I would go so far as to say that it has undermined its authority. Only unity on our part, the unity which is being displayed today in the speeches by the participants in our plenum, can rectify matters in this situation, and the question of whether Boris Nikolayevich can be first secretary of the party gorkom is no longer an issue for anyone.

A few words about how this could have happened. We who have worked alongside Boris Nikolayevich, the secretaries and bureau members, as distinct from many others, met with him frequently. It would be wrong and dishonest if I said that we ever heard him wrongly formulate any political tasks. But nevertheless we probably did lack the necessary critical view of Boris Nikolayevich's work. We in fact deluded ourselves, we in fact overestimated, perhaps, both his experience and knowledge.

Now, having heard my comrades' speeches, I am convinced once again of how great the demands placed on members of the bureau and secretaries of the party gorkom are and that we have much to change in our work style.

Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, said, among other things: I must also talk primarily about the party gorkom bureau. I attended the plenum as a candidate member of the party Central Committee. The question of our responsibiility for Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's speech already arose then, on that day, when we had to face the participants in the party Central Committee plenum.

How do I understand Boris Nikolayevich's speech? It was confused, irresponsible, and unconvincing, he presented his ideas in a general way without adducing any evidence. His statement about resignation was, if you wish, for show, an attempt at blackmail, a sign of political immaturity. There is no other assessment possible.

Today, Boris Nikolayevich, I must say that we were sincere and honest in our attitude toward you and followed you enthusiastically. But much now has to be reassessed. The situation in the bureau seemed to us to be characterized by the necessary collegiality and critical spirit, and there was the opportunity for exchange of opinions. But, by all accounts, Boris Nikolayevich, it was, to a considerable extent, a game to you. Because when the crunch came, when the principle of collectiveness should have operated, you did not need the bureau anymore.

I am certain that we will emerge from this situation with dignity, the unity of the plenum and the party gorkom guaranteeing this, in my view, and I think the Muscovites will support us, I also think that we must assure the Central Committee repeatedly today that it can rely on us.

Professor V.A. Protapopov of the Economics Faculty of the Moscow State University named for M.V. Lomonosov, pointed out that he has worked as secretary of the Leninskiy party raykom for 11 years and been awarded a certificate for good work by the party gorkom. He therefore has the moral right to say whatever he thinks about what has happened without having to look over his shoulder. He was convinced that Comrade Yeltsin's speech at the Central Committee should be described as demagoguery. That is the most accurate term.

The cadre merry-go-round which has occurred in our organization is absurd and does not benefit restructuring. Many people have gotten the idea that the most important thing in restructuring is to change people around. The more changes you make, the sooner you will be told that you are restructuring. The impression given is that you are satisfied when you have used methods of this kind to remove people who maybe wanted sincerely to work. Everything was smashed into fragments, but when it came to creation, this is where you faltered, Boris Nikolayevich. This kind of political error committed by a first secretary and candidate member of the Politburo can only be assessed as they have been assessed by the party Central Committee and are being assessed by us today. A person who is a repository of these errors cannot lead a party organization like the Moscow party organization.

Mikhail Sergeyevich, comrade Politburo members, we have always been, are, and will remain the party's assistants.

Today, when almost 2 years have elapsed since Comrade B.N. Yeltsin's election, Pervomayskiy party raykom First Secretary V.A. Vasilyev said, I am increasingly convinced that many of the promises he gave, which were constantly couched in loud phrases, were not only not backed up with concrete action but in many respects worsened the situation. The concepts of the unquestionability of authority and infallibility of leaders were verbally condemned, but what was asserted in practice was an authoritarian work style, which is manifestly intolerable in a party organization, particularly in deciding cadre questions.

What might figuratively be called a "behind closed doors" method of work [rabota "pod kolpakom"] emerged. There was a loss of confidence. Innumerable commissions would turn up at the most critical moment. They would dig around, drag things out, and accumulate quantities of background material of a kind which would denigrate the work of the party organization, primary party organizations, the party raykom, and other rayon organizations. They we would be branded with the merciless label of "subtle stage-managing of affairs," as *Moskovskaya Pravda* wrote. No, we did not engage in subtle stage-managing of affairs. We were simply leaned on.

The promises and calls to reduce paper work and separate party and economic work were not backed up in practice. In practice we were simply castigated for economic failings. I have brought with me a telegram on government notepaper which we received at the party raykom last September. We all received such telegrams. I quote:

"To the first secretary of the party raykom:

"I ask you to personally take charge of work to impose order in the organization of trading in fruit and vegetable produce in the rayon. Throughout September there must be daily monitoring of the fulfillment of the approved minimum product range and of the work of each trading outlet in observing the rules of trade." I think this needs no comment.

Virtually every speech by Comrade Yeltsin involved a negative assessment of any area of the capital's development. Here, as a rule, a whole collection of statistics was cited which was used for public [prilyudnyy] manipulation denigrating matters in Moscow.

Self-aggrandizement, an authoritarian work style, and an unwillingness to heed party comrades' views is what led, in my view, to Comrade Yeltsin's provocative conduct at the party Central Committee plenum.

V.S. Sablin, chief of the Glavmosdorupravleniye [Moscow Gorpsipolkom Main Highways Administration], wholly and fully supported M.S. Gorbachev's speech and subscribed to the assessment of Comrade Yeltsin's politically immature speech at the party Central Committee plenum. Comrade Sablin noted that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has many attractive characteristics. But one characteristic, which is a determining characteristic for a party worker—work with cadres—does not stand up to criticism. It is simply intolerable.

A.A. Logunov, rector of the Moscow State University named for M.V. Lomonosov, stressed that the party's assessment of Comrade Yeltsin's speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum is unequivocal. His speech gave powerful encouragement to every kind of speculation.

I have been a direct participant in CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat discussions on certain questions—relating to the development of science, higher education, and the higher education system. On every occasion these have been democratic and comprehensive discussions in, I would say, a really comradely and businesslike atmosphere. Everybody speaks equally, and it is attempted to accumulate everything of value and take everything useful into account. How can it be said that it is impossible to freely express your opinion in the Central Committee and Central Committee Secretariat?

Now to restructuring. It is like oxygen for our society. We were steadily sliding toward the abyss. This slide has now been stopped. Of course, this is not a simple process. It is very important to support everything valuable in good time and channel it in the right direction. This concerns cadres too. As many of them should be replaced as are needed for the interests of work. Only on the basis of the interests of work and not in order to look as though we have restructured ourselves in a major way.

Ingrained fear of speaking the party truth was the ground on which the atmosphere that gave rise to Boris Nikolayevich's speech was created in the party gorkom. This style must be revamped without fail.

Today, whether bureau members or not, N.Ye. Koslova, first secretary of Sverdlovskiy party raykom said, we find it very hard and difficult to speak because you recognize your responsibility and because it is a question of the city of Moscow and its party organization—a key organization for the party Central Committee.

I would like to say that very many of us, including me, are becoming bold in retrospect. The atmosphere in the party gorkom bureau was not easy—and I ask you to believe this, it was not easy—and recently it had become clearly troubled. This could be seen in Boris Nikolayevich's behavior. He was very nervous. But we did not dare ask him what had happened.

In sharing and understanding my personal guilt, Mikhail Sergeyevich, I would also like to mention today that the Moscow organization is a large organization and the fact that not everything was going smoothly here could have been seen not only by each member of the party gorkom bureau but by party Central Committee workers, who had not visited the party gorkom bureau at all recently. I do not recall anyone from the party Central Committee at sector chief level paying us a visit.

It is very difficult, we are very ashamed. And the demands which will clearly be made have my full backing, but we must act in such a way that tomorrow there will be a growing assurance in working Moscow that we going the right way.

A.S. Yeliseyev, rector of the N.E. Bauman Moscow Higher Technical College, said: In my opinion, after what we have heard we can probably agree that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin made a blatant political mistake, after which he could no longer remain secretary and leader of the Moscow party organization or remain in the Politburo or leading party organs. The mistake was too great.

I believe that what has happened should be a great lesson for us all. Are we not making similar mistakes, are there not grains of the authoritarian style of leadership in us, do we always know how to consult with our comrades?

Incidentally, as a gorkom member, I would not fully dissociate myself from his guilt. I take part in the work of party gorkom plenums and have never heard speeches like today's, even half as sharp, even one-third as sharp. There is a point at which we start to lose our principledness. Let us pluck up courage to speak out in good time, and then we will avoid such mistakes.

All this is the result of a protracted disregard of the norms of party life.

I would like to assure the party Central Committee and Politburo that the Moscow city party organization is strong and will draw the correct conclusions from what has happened.

The party gorkom bureau, Yu.A. Belyakov, second secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, said, wholly supports and shares the assessment which the CPSU Central Committee plenum made of Comrade Yeltsin's speech. This was our firm position from the very beginning. This assessment was made today in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech.

On behalf of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau I must state that we wholly support the Central Committee and Politburo on questions of domestic and foreign policy and in restructuring.

Comrade Yeltsin's plenum speech was completely unexpected for us, and we assessed it as immature and intemperate and assess it as a blow against the city party organization. The Moscow party organization has never had and will never have any differences with the general line and practical actions of the party Central Committee.

The statement about Boris Nikolayevich's resignation is an attempt to introduce precisely such differences. That is how we assess the affair. The negative consequences of

Comrade Yeltsin's speech are hard to overestimate. By his speech and resignation demand, Comrade Yeltsin gave rise to doubts about restructuring and the changes taking place in the country.

This blow was struck on the eve of the 70th anniversary of October, at a critical moment in restructuring. The blow was against all the matters in which Boris Nikolayevich himself was taking the most active part. He was working hard, selflessly, and creatively, and his work was having a marked influence on the city party organization's work. So the blow was all the more painful for us and its consequences were all the graver. The name of the Moscow Gorkom first secretary is now being utilized by dubious elements that are trying to turn Moscow against the CPSU Central Committee.

A party leader, especially one at such a level, must visualize all the consequences of his actions and bear full responsibility for them.

Very serious criticism of the party Gorkom Bureau has been voiced today. We fully accept it, it is fair, although bitter.

The party Gorkom Bureau does not shirk responsibility for what happened, we were clearly not exacting and demanding enough with the first secretary.

The requisite critical view of Boris Nikolayevich's work was lacking. A special responsibility for this lies with the party gorkom secretaries. We are clearly aware of this today. So we are paying all too high a price for our errors.

The opinion of the party Gorkom Bureau is unanimous. Comrade Yeltsin can no longer be leader of the Moscow city party organization.

I want to assure the Central Committee and the Politburo that the restructuring process in Moscow does not end with Comrade Yeltsin's speech and this error. The process continues. Much work lies ahead. Allow me on behalf of the members of the gorkom to assure you that the Moscow city party organization and all Moscow's working people will work hard to implement the tasks set by the Central Committee. And we will cope with them.

Comrades!—V.V. Vinogradov, first secretary of Sovetskiy CPSU Raykom, said to the plenum participants. I cannot include myself among the ranks of the aggrieved. I am one of the few raykom secretaries who have been working for a long time in the city party organization; according to the statistics, few of us remain.

Comrade Yeltsin has positive qualities. This was the reason why he became secretary of the party obkom in Sverdlovsk and secretary of the gorkom in Moscow. But that is not the point at issue today. The point at issue today is that by his actions he has caused very great damage and harm to both the party and the Moscow city party organization and showed himself in the worst possible light at the Central Committee Plenum.

I think that it is not altogether correct to say today, as the gorkom secretaries are doing, that this was surprising and perplexing. I think that that is not altogether so. The explosion had been brewing, and the foundation of it is Comrade Yeltsin's ambitiousness, his harshness, not firmness, and his inability to listen to people.

He criticized the Central Committee for lacking democratism, yet he was given the opportunity to speak at the Central Committee Plenum. Thus an atmosphere was created there in which even the absolutely demagogic statements that he came out with could be made. But could we speak out openly? On many questions we remained silent and squeezed our lips together so hard it actually hurt.

What methods were used? They turned the whole rayon upside down to dig the dirt on Vinogradov, yet I have spent 17 years in elective party and soviet work. I was elected by a plenum.

My patience ran out, and I went to Comrade Belyakov, second secretary of the party gorkom, and frankly said: Either dismiss me, or stop what you're doing [prekratite ekzekutsiyu]. They stopped. They even apparently praised the rayon at the last plenum.

Boris Nikolayevich was out of touch with us, and he was not alongside us in the ranks. He hovered somewhere above us. He was not very concerned with ensuring that we link arms and resolve a great cause in a single formation.

Even today I simply cannot understand how Boris Nikolayevich, when he drove over to the rayon for a report and election meeting in a shop organization, managed to ensure that I could not attend. Comrade Skitev has never been able to explain to me why I did not attend.

Of course, Boris Nikolayevich won Muscovites over with his dynamism and drive, he drove around a great deal and had a lot of contact with people. But it seems to me that on these trips he was more concerned about his personal authority than that of the gorkom. And why this contempt for raykom first secretaries? Almost everyone carried some brand. Pardon the harsh words, but we very often had to wash ourselves clean of the assessments that were made of us party raykom first secretaries. Even precinct inspectors were given the right to shadow us, what was said about us was: See if those sons of bitches are getting up to anything. Boris Nikolayevich, a person of your rank cannot say things like that merely for the sake of playing up to an audience.

In conclusion I should like to say that I feel very deeply about Comrade Yeltsin's action. It is a grave blow, it is a stern lesson to us, to everyone. But today I should like to assure the party Central Committee, the Politburo, and the party leaders present here that if at a hard and difficult time we have held out then, having straightened ourselves up, in unity and monolithic formation, we can do a very great deal and will unfailingly do it.

In his speech B.N. Yeltsin said: I think there is no need to provide an evaluation of myself here inasmuch as my action was simply unpredictable. Today, at the Central Committee Plenum, at the Politburo, at the gorkom bureau, and at this plenum, I have heard a great deal I never heard before in my life. Perhaps that was to some degree the reason for what happened.

I merely want here to give a firm assurance and to say, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to you and the Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries present here, to the party gorkom members, and to all those who are at the gorkom plenum today, first that I give my sincere party word that of course I had no ulterior motives [umysly] and there was no political orientation in my action.

Second: I agree today with the criticism which has been voiced. Comrade Yeliseyev was probably right in saying that if it had come earlier it would have been of benefit.

I must say that I believe in, that I have absolutely firm party confidence in, the party's general line and the decisions of the 27th congress. I have absolute confidence in restructuring and in the fact that however hard its path may be it will nonetheless triumph. It is another matter, and here we have indeed sometimes had different nuances in our evaluations of it, that it is proceeding differently for different regions and even for different organizations. But, of course, I believe in restructuring and there can be no doubts here. I am stating this absolutely honestly to you Communists after working together in the party organization for 2 years. And any action of mine which contradicts this statement of mine should of course lead to expulsion from the party.

At the beginning of last year I was recommended by the Politburo and was elected party gorkom first secretary at a plenum here and a bureau was formed. And it must be said that the bureau worked very fruitfully. A Moscow gorispolkom was formed, and basically I have in mind the chairman and his deputies who, of course, and many people noted this, began to engage in specific work. But from approximately the beginning of this year I started to notice that things were going badly for me. You remember that at the party gorkom plenum we said that if things are going badly for him every leader must always say so honestly, go and say honestly to his higher-ranking party organ: Things are going badly for me. But here, of course, there was also a tactical error. Obviously this was connected with overwork and so forth. But for me, and I cannot speak for the entire bureau, things did indeed start to go badly in my work. Today this has perhaps been expressed most clearly in the fact that it was easier to give promises and to elaborate comprehensive programs than it was to implement them. That is the first point. Second, it was in that period, that is recently, that one of my chief personal features started to operate—that is my ambition, which has been mentioned today. I tried to combat it but, unfortunately, not successfully.

The main thing for me now as a Communist of the Moscow organization is, of course, what to do, what decision to take to minimize the damage to the Moscow organization. Of course, it is damage, and damage has been inflicted, and it will be difficult for the new gorkom first secretary, for the bureau, and for the party gorkom to ensure that this wound which has been inflicted, this damage which has been caused, and not just to the Moscow organization, to ensure that work is done to heal it as rapidly as possible. [sentence as published]

I cannot agree that I do not love Moscow. Other factors were at work but no, I had time to fall in love with Moscow and I tried to do everything somehow to eliminate the shortcomings which existed before.

It was particularly hard for me today to hear very specific criticism from those party comrades with whom I have worked for 2 years and I would say that I can deny none of it.

Not because I need to beat my breast, since you realize that, as a Communist, I have lost the political face of a leader. I bear a great burden of guilt before the Moscow party organization, a very great burden of guilt before the party gorkom, before you, of course, before the bureau, and, of course, I bear a very great burden of guilt personally before Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, whose prestige is so high in our organization, in our country, and throughout the world.

As a Communist I am sure that the Moscow organization is united with the party Central Committee and that it has marched and will march very confidently behind the party Central Committee.

M.S. Gorbachev then delivered the concluding speech at the plenum.

An important question, he said, was submitted for discussion at today's plenum. The content and atmosphere of the discussion once again showed the maturity and great political potential of the Moscow City party organization and its party committee. A frank, party-minded discussion took place, in a spirit of high exactingness and responsibility. Correct decisions were elaborated and adopted.

The Central Committee Politburo and I, as general secretary, are firmly convinced that the Moscow City party organization is our buttress, and a reliable buttress.

And the Muscovites, as has been the case at every stage of socialist building, are setting an example of intensive work today, now that the revolutionary renewal of society is under way.

You may be confident, M.S. Gorbachev went on, that Moscow's concerns are the Central Committee's paramount concerns. As has already been noted, the Central Committee has adopted a number of major decisions aimed at developing the city's economy, social sphere, and culture. Our common concern now is to put all our plans into practice, to ensure that the Muscovites can sense the changes, and to resolve concrete problems step by step and rectify matters with regard to housing, transport, and trade.

We have submitted a proposal that a separate resolution be adopted on the development of the health care system in Moscow, so as to ensure that Moscow issues are not swamped in the general schemes and appropriations.

If you take social questions, which have become acute in Moscow—we are talking about housing, health care, transport, schools, theaters, museums—there is only one solution: To create a powerful, modern construction base appropriate to the scale of Moscow and the Muscovites' needs.

In a word, the Moscow City party organization must substantially step up the work in every avenue.

I think there should be a different atmosphere both in the party gorkom and in the city, so that people work with more initiative, not from fear, as the saying goes, but from conscience. Staunch work and persistent efforts are needed. Moscow's potential is such that if it suffers hitches, it affects the whole country, but if it operates to full capacity, the whole country feels that too, and weightily. Therefore I wish the party organization greater efficiency, greater practicality, and greater exactingness and initiative. A worker with initiative will always find a solution as to how to act and how to lead people after him.

Today's plenum is another hard, but instructive lesson. And hard lessons are not assimilated easily or by everyone. When you hear some people talk, they are solidly behind the restructuring, they will draw conclusions, they assure you of their devotion to advanced ideas. But when you listen to them, there is such a fusty smell of stagnation in their statements and assurances that you can hardly stand it. Today we need deeds, not assurances, actions, not promises.

Today's lesson must not be forgotten. It is a lesson for the CPSU Central Committee too. I am not going to embark on self-justification now and recount in detail what was done to prevent the errors in the work of the gorkom leadership that we have discussed today. I personally am upset by what has happened. After all, I had conversations with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Searching, frank, one-on-one conversations.

I must say, Boris Nikolayevich, your ambitions hampered you, hampered you greatly. On the eve of the January plenum and at the Central Committee plenum itself we tried firmly to set you right. There was another discussion on the eve of the June plenum.

I wish to support the comrades who spoke of the positive aspects of B.N. Yeltsin's work. But all the same, politically he was not up to it, it proved beyond his power to head a party organization like the Moscow City organization.

At the Central Committee January (1987) plenum, when we analyzed the reasons for the stagnation, the reasons why, at a certain stage in the past, the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat were not up to the job, and what must be done to prevent a repetition of this, we were united in our conclusions. There must everywhere be an atmosphere of true party-mindedness, criticism and self-criticism, and collegiality. No complacency. Open, comradely party discussion is the best atmosphere, the only one in which fruitful ideas can be formulated and the correctness of policy be checked. Collectiveness and collegiality are a tremendous force.

At the Central Committee October (1987) Plenum, when all the comrades had spoken and assessed Comrade Yeltsin's speech as politically erroneous, I asked if there were any other proposals. Comrade V.A. Zatvornitskiy, a construction worker who is well known to us, raised his hand and came up to the platform. I am not against the Central Committee decision, he said. I have a question for Comrade Yeltsin. How come you, such a major leader, do not think about the country and the party, but are afflicted with careerism and go in for settling scores, forgetting the difficult tasks we have taken on? Can that be permissible? It is impermissible!

These words of Vladimir Andreyevich Zatvornitskiy have really cut me to the quick.

We are the party of the working class, of the entire people. We bear responsibility for our every decision, for every practical step. The working class has achieved restructuring through suffering and is solidly behind the changes, the renewal, and the moral improvement of society.

Our enemies call us utopians and predict that we will fail. They say so because they fear our restructuring. Prior to the January plenum they declared that this was just another campaign. A new team of the country's managers has come in, it is criticizing the old team and settling scores, and this means nothing will get done. When the January plenum had been held, and the June plenum had been held, they panicked. Everything is being done now to sow doubts among the working class and lack of faith among the working people and to compromise restructuring.

Let them speak! It is their usual ploy to say spiteful things against us.

Ours is a difficult path, but we have gone uphill and are now standing not on quicksand but on solid ground, and therefore we will stand our ground! We have such tremendous potential that we can resolve everything that has been planned. Our policy is a realistic policy. I am confident that Muscovites will make the contribution on which the country, the Central Committee, and the government are counting, and we will support you.

Aktiv Assesses Gorkom Decision

LD121823 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] A Moscow city assembly of the party aktiv took place today at which the Communists were briefed in detail on the results of the CPSU Central Committee October Plenum and the decisions of the Moscow Gorkom Plenum of 11 November. Aktiv assemblies with an analogous agenda took place in all Moscow Raykoms.

The participants in the assemblies declared their full support for the party policy worked out at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress for the renewal of all aspects of the life of Soviet society, democratization, glasnost, and acceleration of the country's social and economic development.

It was stressed at the assemblies that the documents of the party's Central Committee and the decisions of the Moscow Gorkom Plenum had given a stern but just assessment of what had happened. The Communists and all working people of the capital declare farmly and with full determination that the Moscow Gorkom has always been, is, and will be, a most strong supporter of the CPSU Central Committee, will steadfastly follow the Leninist policies worked out at the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum and is a worthy example of selflessness in the campaign for restructuring and the campaign to put the revolutionary transformations of our society into practice.

Evidence of this was the whole atmosphere of the Moscow Gorkom Plenum which was held on 11 November, and of the all-city assembly of the party aktiv. At these meetings stress was laid on the complete unity of assessments and conclusions drawn from the situation that has taken shape. This displayed with new force the political maturity of the core of the Moscow Gorkom.

The participants in the assembly stressed that the main task of the present period consists of concentrating all of the tremendous creative potential of Moscow's Communists on accelerating the restructuring in all spheres of the capital's socioeconomic, scientific, and cultural life. The faster lessons are learned from what has occurred, the more weighty will be the results of this work. The people of Moscow will do everything to make their beloved capital more beautiful still, and to ensure that their work is, in every way, an example to Soviet people.

Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; spoke at the all-city assembly of the party aktiv.

[Moscow *Pravda* in Russian on 13 November 1987 in its Second Edition on page 3 carried a TASS report under the general heading "Vigorously Carrying Out Restructuring" reveals the following variations:

The *Pravda* version begins: "A Moscow citywide meeting of the party... (rewording)

Paragraph three, sentence two, *Pravda* reads ...that the Moscow city party organization has always been... (rewording)

Paragraph three, same sentence, *Pravda* reads ...follow the Leninist course worked out at... (substituting "course" for "policies")

Paragraph three, same sentence, *Pravda* reads ...selflessness in the struggle for restructuring and the implementation of revolutionary transformations to our society.

The participants in... (rewording, deleting paragraph four, picking up paragraph five, sentence one)

Paragraph five, sentence one, *Pravda* reads ...Moscow's Communists on restructuring in all... (deleting "accelerating the")

Paragraph five, sentence two, *Pravda* reads ...of this work.

Comrade Zaykov, member... (deleting sentence, picking up last paragraph, sole sentence)]

Yeltsin Attends 4 Nov Moscow Gorkom Meeting

PM121429 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Text] A conference of CPSU raykom first secretaries attended by Moscow Gorispolkom deputy chairmen and leaders of a number of Moscow Gorispolkom main administrations and administrations was held at the party gorkom yesterday.

The results of the fulfillment of the state plan for the city's comprehensive economic and social development in the first 9 months of this year and of Muscovites' socialist pledges for the 70th anniversary of October were examined.

There was a discussion of the whole range of questions concerning the city's preparation for celebrating the jubilee of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 7 November demonstration by working people's representatives, the artistic-political appearance of the city, and mass political work in labor collectives and at places of residence.

There was also examination of questions concerning the activity of various services in the city economy, the work of trade, transportation, and health care enterprises and institutions, and the maintenance of public order.

It was emphasized at the conference that the materials of the ceremonial jubilee session in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, which evolved into a major political event, must be brought to the knowledge of every Muscovite and that the necessary explanatory work must be carried out. The presentation of awards to enterprises singled out to receive CPSU Central Committee Scrolls of Honor must be completed.

The conference was addressed by B.N. Yeltsin, first secretary of the party gorkom. Secretaries of the party gorkom and members and candidate members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau took part in the conference.

Shcherbitskiy Pays Tribute to Lenin

AU131038 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Nov 87 p 2

[RATAU report: "A Tribute of Love and Respect"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On 4 November, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the inhabitants of Kiev gathered at the monument to V.I. Lenin to pay a tribute of love and respect to the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

At 1200 [0900 GMT] the meeting at the monument was joined by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Yu. N. Yelchenko, Ye. V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.P. Mironov, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu. A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members.

The majestic melody of the song "Lenin Is Always With You" rose over Kreshchatik. The leaders of the republic's Communist Party and government placed a basket of flowers at the pedestal of the monument. [passage omitted]

Visits Kiev Museums

AU131025 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Nov 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "On the Eve of the October Jubilee"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] On 6 November V.V.Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, and V.D. Kryuchkov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members, arrived at the Kiev branch of the Central V.I. Lenin Museum. They laid flowers at a statue of V.I. Lenin. [passage omitted]

On the same day, the Ukrainian Communist Party and government leaders inspected a new subway station, Leninskaya, whose construction was completed on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members visited the "Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War 1941-45" memorial complex, and familiarized themselves with new materials and documents added to the exhibition. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members also inspected the republic-level art exhibition dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October, the "Country of the Soviets," opened in the halls of the State Museum of Ukrainian Fine Art. [passage omitted]

NOVOSTI Answers Questions From Readers

AU300847 [Editorial Report] Prague *Rude Pravo* in Czech and Bratislava *Pravda* in Slovak on 21 October, on page 6 in each instance, both publish the 2,500-word third installment of answers by correspondents of the Soviet *Novosti* press agency to questions of *Rude Pravo* and Bratislava *Pravda* readers about the Soviet Union. An invitation to the readers of the Czechoslovak party press to submit questions about the process of restructuring and other developments in the Soviet Union was published by the two papers at the beginning of September.

The questions and answers, which are published under the headline "The Soviet Union—History, Present, Tomorrow," concern the use of the secret ballot in elections to the soviets and other Soviet organizations; the publication of a Stalin biography; the damage suffered by the Soviet Union during World War II; the issue of Crimean Tatars; and Sino-Soviet relations.

The issue of a Stalin biography is raised by reader K. Bocek from Jablonec. He points out that "bulky" biographies of Churchill and Roosevelt have been published in Czechoslovakia and asks whether it is not high time for a biographical volume on the third representative of the "Big Three" from the time of World War II—Stalin. The question is answered by Valentin Falin, chairman of the *Novosti* Board. He says: "I.V. Stalin is an ambiguous and conflicting figure in the history of the Soviet state. It is no easy task to make a sober, clear-headed assessment of all the positive and negative features of this personality and a truthful statement—free of extreme tones and of exaggeration and embellishment—about his role not only in the successes of our people at work and war but also in the tragic errors of our past. But it is a task that cannot be bypassed. This time of revolutionary changes requires that it be done. By telling the truth about a man who for 55 years took an active part in the Russian revolutionary movement, in three Russian revolutions, and who for almost 30 years was at the head of the party, in an exceptionally responsible period of the country's development, we will discharge our duty to the generation of the first builders of socialism and to those who come after us.

"I believe that the time when a biographical book about the third representative of the 'Big Three' sees the light of day is not far off."

The question on Crimean Tatars is answered by *Novosti* correspondent Chernov. He explains the ethnic make-up of the Crimean ASSR at the time of its founding in 1921 and continues: "In 1944 the Crimean Tatars were resettled from the peninsula, where they represented 19% of the population at that time, to Central Asia. This decision was motivated by the collaboration of a significant portion of the Tatar population with the fascist occupants, by the formation of home guards and groups of volunteers to combat partisan strongholds and liquidate the local population. Regrettably, the decision on resettlement affected not only traitors but the entire Tatar population of Crimea, which was naturally unjust. We have to remember that thousands of Crimean Tatars took an active part in battles against German fascists. The pilot Sultan Ahmed Khan, for example, was twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet press has reported on the recent increase in the number of demands by Crimean Tatars addressed to party and administrative agencies for a reevaluation of the decision to abolish the Crimean ASSR. This was also the aim of a demonstration organized by a group of Crimean Tatars in Moscow this summer. Representatives of this group were received in the Kremlin. At the same time, representatives of the Tatar nationality with extremist tendencies are organizing meetings and gatherings and sending out letters, proclamations, and appeals to the public abroad. They also misuse some Soviet cultural figures. In my opinion, it is no longer a question of restoring the Crimean ASSR, but an attempt to set up Tatar autonomy with all its implications, which are far from unequivocal."

In concluding, Chernov says: "Crimea now has a population of 2.5 million of various nationalities, some 20,000 of whom are Crimean Tatars. That is why the questions being raised by a segment of Crimean Tatars have to be assessed in the context of the actual situation, calmly, and clear-headedly. An authoritative commission chaired by A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has begun to study the whole set of problems submitted by a segment of the Crimean Tatars. The conclusions from its last session were published by TASS on 15 October."

The question on Sino-Soviet relations is answered by Yuriy Lysenko, chief editor of *Novosti*'s Main Editorial Office of Socialist Countries. He says: "The USSR attributes great importance to the development of relations with the PRC. It seeks their full-scale normalization, good-neighborly cooperation, and friendship. The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the PRC is a power which commands great authority and without whose cooperation it is impossible to deal with current international problems and to achieve solid peace not only in Asia, but in the world at large.

"Soviet-Sino relations have visibly improved in recent years. Political contacts are being established. The secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee has had two meetings with representatives of the Chinese leadership and Soviet representatives have been accorded a high-level reception when visiting Beijing. Talks on various aspects of international relations have become a routine affair. Since October 1982, 10 rounds of political consultations have been held at the level of special envoys of the Soviet and PRC Governments—deputy ministers of foreign affairs. The 11th round of these consultations was held in Beijing recently. The first round of a new stage of Soviet-Sino talks on border issues was held in Moscow this February, after a hiatus of 9 years.

"Trade turnover between the USSR and the PRC in 1986 totaled R1.8 billion, eight times more than in 1982. Under the long-term trade agreement for 1986-90, the volume of mutual trade could reach R3 billion in 1990—in other words, it could double. New forms of trade and economic cooperation are being considered, including the establishment of production sharing relations, the assembly of some engineering products in the PRC with the help of parts supplied from the USSR, or the founding of joint enterprises. Talks are underway on cooperation in the building industry and in the modernization of several dozen facilities in the main branches of the Chinese national economy.

"An agreement has been signed on cooperation in planning between the USSR State Planning Committee and the corresponding PRC authority. Both sides show an increasing interest in experiences gained in the course of the socioeconomic changes in the two states.

"Contacts between the academies of sciences of the two countries are developing. An exchange program for trainees and research and postgraduate students involving a few hundred people a year on each side is underway. Cultural and social contacts are expanding. There are exchanges between groups of writers, composers, and journalists, artistic exhibitions, theatrical ensembles, delegations, and specialized tourist groups along the lines of friendship societies.

"At the same time the Soviet Union does not close its eyes to the continuing disparate approaches of the USSR and the PRC to a number of international problems. Such differences are natural in today's multifaceted and complex world and there is no need to dramatize them. The USSR has never attempted, and does not attempt today, to exert any influence on the system of China's foreign policy priorities and respects its efforts to maintain good relations with all states.

"As for the so-called obstacles which, according to statements of the Chinese leadership, stand in the way of a further development of Soviet-Sino relations, the Soviet side believes that problems such as for example the settlement of the situation around Cambodia and Afghanistan are actually existing complex issues of international life. The USSR is ready to assist in their solution and is undertaking appropriate practical steps in this direction. However, at the same time the Soviet Union disapproves of these problems being artificially presented as obstacles to the development of relations between the USSR and the PRC, all the more so as they do not belong to the sphere of bilateral Soviet-Sino relations."

The questions in the 3,400-word first installment of the *Novosti* series, which *Rude Pravo* and Bratislava *Pravda* published on 10 October, on their page 6, concerned the economic and social situation in Russia in 1917; the current tasks of Soviet historiography; planned changes in the system of Soviet medical care; the role of literature in restructuring; and the experiment in self-financing introduced in the Dnetropetrovsk soccer club.

In the 3,500-word second installment, which the two party papers published on 17 October, on page 6, *Novosti* correspondents answered questions about the Soviet nuclear power plant program; current assessment of the 20th CPSU Congress; initial experience from elections of factory directors; restructuring in the Soviet printing and publishing industry; and the role of Gorbachev personally in the process of restructuring.

Afanasyev Criticizes Soviet Historiography

AU091646 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 3 Oct 87 pp 1,9

[Interview with Yuriy Nikolayevich Afanasyev, doctor of historical sciences and rector of the State Historical-Archival Institute in Moscow, by Slawomir Popowski: "People Have the Right to Their Own History"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Popowski] After a series of your publications on problems of historical sciences your name has become known in the USSR as well as abroad. Is life easy with such popularity? How have your publications been received? Have they earned you more backers or opponents?

[Afanasyev] All I can say is that my life is not any easier. Actually it has become more complicated, which is certainly no accident. If not I, sooner or later someone else would have to tell the truth about the condition of our historical sciences. The truth is that the standing of these sciences among our people continues to decline in absolute terms. This process is quite obvious, especially if you compare the achievements of the historical sciences with the various articles on history, which have recently been published by the Soviet press. There have been dozens and dozens of such articles, both journalistic and typically literary ("The Arbat Children" and others, for example). To put it mildly, our historical sciences cut a poor figure against the background of these articles and have been unable to assist the party in promoting the perestroyka and to carry out a critical, true, objective, and comprehensive analysis of the road traversed by Soviet society.

In their present form the historical sciences are of no use for the party. I would even say that they are of no use for our society. It is bitter and regrettable to own up to this at this time, but there is no other way out. The simple truth is that our historical sciences have been unable to classify the experience of our people and other peoples so as to make our society more capable of adapting itself to demands of life and of occupying a worthy place in the world.

An honest, open, and candid presentation of what our historical sciences really are does not please some people, especially those who have devoted almost all their lives to the study of history (in its present form and now must create new conditions for the development of this discipline. It is therefore natural that not everyone has come to terms with the present views about our historical sciences. Some of these people have asserted that they have been slandered and that only negative features of our life are being stressed, but that positive features, of which Soviet history can be proud, are being ignored...

I have never held such views. I assert that that we have always had brilliant scientists. [passage omitted] But this does not change the fact that, in my view, there is a general stagnation of our historical sciences. It is a fact that when you speak openly about this stagnation, you may encounter reactions that are not too friendly. That is why I have enough adversaries, among whom the historians dealing with party history are particularly numerous. However, I maintain that this is the most conservative field, one that has been stricken by dogmatism and doctrinairism to the greatest extent. It is here that blank spots are most numerous and that the aversion toward eliminating them is the strongest.

As for your question whether I have had more backers or opponents, I am unable to tell as I have never compiled any statistics in this regard. But judging by the several hundreds of letters I have received, most people are in favor of my views. [passage omitted]

[Popowski] In one of your articles you wrote that "people have the right to their own history." What is the meaning of this in the context of the present changes in your country? What is the crux of the present discussion about history in the USSR?

[Afanasyev] I could continue answering this question for a long time, but I think that it is worth tracing the development of Soviet historical sciences in the past nor quite 70 years. [passage omitted]

As for the crux of the present discussion on the historical sciences, the scope of their problems is very extensive. After all, many very important problems of our history lack even suitable methodological and theoretical foundations to construct a meaningful interpretation of these problems. This applies both to Soviet history and to prerevolutionary history. Unfortunately, nothing is being said about this, and it is only the party leadership that continues to appeal for efforts to subject history as well to an earnest perestroyka and to transform it into a science that is consistent with society's modern requirements. However, historians are in no hurry themselves. It is true that they concede that it is necessary to appraise the condition of their own science, but when they set about appraising it, their efforts are really pathetic. Naturally, there are historians who try to fathom various problems, and they include Samsonov, Volobuyev, or Mints. It can also be asserted that the USSR Academy of Sciences has also modified its approach to individual problems, but this is merely a just discernible tendency. [passage omitted]

[Popowski] Much is being said nowadays about the need to eliminate blank spots in Soviet history. Which past events, facts, and figures require a new approach? How was it possible to conceal all these things?

[Afanasyev] It seems to me that there is almost no period in our history that would not require a deeper, fuller, and more comprehensive examination and treatment in line with the modern view of the world. I do not have in mind any expedient activities. What I have in mind is to ensure that we are more open to the world and to ourselves. That is why we must treat all our past as a kind of a mirror in which he can recognize ourselves. This is precisely what we must do. For this reason I think that there is no need to single out any particular periods of our history, although they can be mentioned here.

I think that it is probable that the October Revolution will be interpreted in a new way, beginning with its preconditions and with explanations of the historical development of Russian society on the eve of the revolution. October should also be presented in a more truthful way than it has been previously. We must fill the history of October with people. Lenin, Bukharin, Trotskiy, Kamenev, and Stalin should speak in their true and not false voices, which were recorded in the "Brief Course" (The All-Union Communist Party-Bolsheviks).

The period of the NEP and the times of its completion must certainly be presented in a new way. After all, there was still some kind of alternative to the Stalinist regime in the twenties, and that is why it is worth examining this issue at close quarters. [passage omitted]

The entire period of the twenties is extremely interesting, but later periods are not for behind. For example, the year 1939 and the prewar period have to be explained and examined in a much more thorough manner than it has been not so long ago. It goes without saying that we must speak more truthfully about these periods. I intain that actually there are no periods in our history that could do without new treatment. They include the last war, the postwar period, and the Khrushchev period, which is also very little known and which virtually does not exist in our history. All this is awaiting examination and research. Nor does our history describe the process of the slow sliding movement toward the restoration of Stalinism, a process that has taken place in a quiet and sneaky way...

[Popowski] Exactly. Stalin and Stalinist times. You often use the term "destalinization." So why are we once again criticizing this era? Does that mean that the assessments presented at the 20th CPSU Congress were not exhaustive? And what is the connection between "destalinization" and the success of the restructuring? Can one talk of Stalinism without Stalin? Or, to be more specific, what remains of Stalinism after Stalin?

[Afanasyev] Since the 20th CPSU Congress, it has become clear that the assessments presented at it and the very analysis of the Stalinist period and personality cult were insufficient. Khrushchev clearly thought it was enough just to uncover Stalin's crimes and abandon the principles of Leninist socialist construction in order to put an end to the personality cult phenomenon. Perhaps he had not given the matter enough thought, or at least he did not say enough about it. In any case, today it is clear that the personality cult itself was nothing other than an ideological framework for the regime that accompanied Stalin's assumption of power. But what sort of regime was it? What sociopolitical concepts did society in the Stalinist era formulate? These are questions to which more exhaustive replies have to be given. It is essential to closely investigate the economic, social, and spiritual structures of Soviet society at that time; the reasons why such an authoritarian, undemocratic, and repressive personality cult regime arose. As far as these investigations are concerned, economists and sociologists are also joining in apart from historians. Perhaps a new, more suitable terminology will arise, and then our formulations and assessments will also be more accurate. There is not the slightest doubt that the assessments so far are inadequate and that new ones have not yet been formulated.

Now the problem of Stalinism without Stalin. The crux of the matter is that the social, economic, political, and spiritual structures during the personality cult could not disappear automatically when Stalin died or when his regime was disclosed. If we view history not as a collection of individual facts and events but as a chain of processes and phenomena, it will become clear that such features as a system of economic management, its structure, and mutual relations in centralism and democracy cannot be established in an instant, on the basis of a single decision. Years, and sometimes entire decades, are required. So no wonder that today we also find the same structures and systems as in the 1930's, during the Stalinist period. And what about the stereotyped thinking and habits, what about the terror in which tens of millions of people lived, what about the social apathy and passiveness also suffered by millions? People did not become like this straightaway. They were transformed to such a state.

For example, today we say that new thinking is necessary, and that restructuring is impossible without it. But in that case, what was the old thinking that no longer satisfies anyone? That is also a problem, and a scientific one. We have practically never examined the social-psychological aspects of Soviet society. We have never analyzed this society's various categories, for example in the context of social or national processes. We have made many declarations offhand, for example about the Soviet people's moral-political unity, without stopping to consider what these people were thinking and how strong their moral-political bonds were. That is an example of what I would call Stalinism without Stalin.

Added to this is the problem of people who received the whole of their education during the Stalinist period and who still lead an active life in the economy, administration, or politics. It is also not easy for these people to reorient themselves and start thinking in new terms overnight, and to do so with complete conviction. These are living people, and they have to be understood. They are around us and we encounter them every day and talk to them. That is our reality.

While on the subject, I would like to emphasize one more important feature. Sometimes there are no more people from previous eras left alive to continue the old social structures, and yet these old structures continue to function. That is why when we say that restructuring possesses a revolutionary nature and even compare it with the October Revolution, it is because the restructuring is chiefly aimed at finally eliminating all the roots of Stalinism. For only then will our society really develop on a different basis.

[Popowski] In the context of what we said earlier, how would you describe the present basic tasks of Soviet historians? To what extent can their work and effort be useful for the restructuring and transformations in the USSR which, among other things, also involve a great moral cleansing and experience? To what extent has the restructuring penetrated the community of historians itself, and what are the dangers to be expected?

[Afanasyev] I think that one of the difficulties of the restructuring is that an awareness of history is too slow in penetrating current politics. Perhaps this is only my own personal view, but I insist that historicism and historical awareness in general based on the scientific foundations of Marxism-Leninism ought to be a major feature of present politics. Quite simply, politics cannot be effective without this awareness. Of course I do not believe and I am not saying that it ought to be more evident and active in politics. Historical awareness must become a kind of medium in which all transformations of reality occur. Otherwise I cannot imagine their success.

History cannot be viewed solely and exclusively as a collection of positive and negative examples. It is, above all, a kind of laboratory of social experience. By using it we can become a wise society that is protected against erroneous decisions. That is why I maintain that the historian can and should become a central figure in the restructuring process.

This is not easy. There are difficulties, and I would even describe them as great difficulties. It is not enough to wish and want history to become a science for it to be that in the full sense of the word. This will not happen, even if some splendid decisions about history are made by high party or state echelons. What we need to do is to prepare the soil, a fertile soil that will enable historiography to grow. The first step is to know languages, not only Russian but also Greek and Latin, and Eastern and Western European languages. What is also necessary is respect for facts and historical documents, debate and a creative atmosphere in academic institutions, completely different teaching programs in schools and colleges, and different textbooks. In a word, we need to fulfill 1,001 conditions. And even if we assume that an ideal situation exists today, that we all wish history to become a real science, to be guided by the ideal of truth, perspicacity in the search for truth, even then it will take years before there is some success. That is why I would not be inclined to underestimate the problems that history faces at the present time.

[Popowski] Nowadays we often cite the principle of openness, of glasnost. To what extent does this principle aid the historian in his work? Has it become easier, for example, to obtain access to sources and various archives? Would it be possible to find material and documents in Soviet archives that would enable historians to explain many of the events and facts that have remained a secret until recently?

[Afanasyev] I cannot give a full and exhaustive reply to that question because, for all that, I am not an archive specialist. Of course, as a historian I do come into contact with this problem but indirectly, and that is not enough to enable me to make judgments. I can only cite the opinions of historians who who have expressed their dissatisfaction and mention publications that are devoted to the state and condition of archives. I think that the accessibility of archives still remains a problem. Currently, commissions have been established that are working on which archives are to be removed from the limited access category. But if you were to ask me how the commissions work, what principles and criteria they employ, whether the commissions are working toward the main goal at all times—that is, historical knowledge—then I cannot and will not attempt to give any complete assurances.

[Popowski] My final question: As a Polish journalist speaking to a Soviet historian I cannot help but ask if, in your opinion, this process of establishing more historical truth should not also cover Polish-Soviet relations? I would like to add that the question of eliminating blank spots in our relations is considered very important in Poland. A great many people even approach this matter in a very emotional way. What can you tell us about this?

[Afanasyev] I think that, quite simply, there cannot be any exceptions, irrespective of what kind of issues they are, even if they are very problematic. Everyone will learn the truth sooner or later, and historians are obliged to do everything in their power to make the truth known as soon as possible. I cannot think of an issue concerning the history of Polish-Soviet relations that ought to be avoided. Even Katyn, perhaps Katyn above all, is an issue that historians, both Polish and Soviet, should examine. They should work on this together. But when they can manage to arrive at the truth separately, then they should do so. After all, we are not children and we are not blind. Are we not aware of the fact that there were many and very complicated periods in the history of our relations that did not aid cooperation and friendship? If we close our eyes to these problems, if we somehow step away from these difficult periods, then we will not be able to help what we are obliged to help, that is, life in the actual world, in the socialist community, in keeping with principles according to which cultured and educated people should live. Thus, we have to strive boldly to describe even the most difficult problems in our common history, because this can only be of benefit to our friendship and the cause of socialism in Poland and in our country.

[Popowski] Thank you.

Abandonment of NEP in 1920's Decried

18250001 Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 7, 1987 pp 36-43

[Interview of publicist Len Karpinskiy by Gleb Pavlovskiy: "Socialism Is Just the Normal Way of Life"]

[Text] G.P. Mr. Karpinsky, the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution coincides with a crucial moment in the new approach towards our place within the world community, and towards the foundations of our participation in the future global structure. Do you see any link between these foundations and the Revolution of 1917?

L.K. We are in a most natural way connected with the world evolution, therefore the Revolution of 1917 is by no means a "local phenomenon". The notorious backwardness of Russia should not be considered as something that provoked the tragedies this country went through, above all the tragedy of the failure to build socialism as it was perceived by the people of the 20s. What was built was a totally different kind of society, one that has been developing since the year 1930 on a totally different basis. The force of inertia of the 30s and of the political and economic establishment created at that time was so strong that it was only after 1985 that we managed to return to the principles that Lenin had discovered as early as in 1921.

G.P. Do you consider this model as socialist in principle?

L.K. Yes. The New Economic Policy was valuable because of its principles. these principles included abandoning dogmatism in the process of nationalization, and adopting a realistic approach to the issue of property. The NEP (the New Economic Policy) reflected the realization of the fact that the dogmatic pre-revolutionary doctrine of the proletarization of society was erroneous.

I shall try to clarify this point. The dogma of the first post-revolutionary years taught as something obvious that all members of society should immediately become Communists and be transformed into proletarians with nothing but a pair of working hands. That was a peculiar mistake: the alleged aim of capitalism to separate workers from property was going to be pursued in the name of the proletariat! The concept of separating people from property and making them workers (but never owners) constituted the essence of the policy of "military communism". It was this concept but not the conditions of war.

Property however resisted any attempt at its abolition! It immediately acquired a new form. There emerged a phenomenon which I call the ownership of administrative functions. It is understandable. As soon as I deprive people of horses and spoons I have to appoint two officials for guarding these spoons. Why two? The second one is going to control the first one. Not only to control him, but also to connect the man and the property every day, so that the man can work. At that period there existed the very characteristic term of "melted land", which meant that innumerable committees kept dividing and redividing the land given to the peasants so that no peasant knew exactly where his plot of land was. One day he was toiling on this one, and the next day he was moved to another. The peasants were given the land, and immediately a bureaucratic structure emerged that took away the land in the evening to give it back to them in the morning. This structure kept everyone busy. By 1921, there were four million new bureaucrats in the country that had just gone through an antibureaucratic revolution! That was the principle of military communism: the transformation of property and the emergence of a new bureaucratic class.

G.P. But this tendency is inherent in any revolution, I mean the tendency towards direct control over people, so to say, transition from the traditional self-propelled movement to manual control over all and everyone.

L.K. Yes. This tendency is rooted deep in human nature. It is a tendency to dominate other humans Psychological domination based on status is present throughout the world in various systems of government. Somebody wants to impose his way of life on millions of others, out of this number some people are ready to entrust themselves to somebody else, thus getting a sense of security. The leader acquires a certain kind of "profit" by having others "under him". In a way he lives the life of his inferiors, apart from his own. This is an ancient phenomenon of anticulture. Peasants never really believed in the security money gave. The security was guaranteed by administrative posts. In this country personal forms of ownership were transformed into ownership of human beings. The latter had evidently been ready for that. The French Revolution collapsed when it attempted to exercise direct control over people and property. It was the NEP that saved our revolution. Incidentally, writers have been disseminating a totally false view on that period (just restaurants, fops and nice girls). The NEP was a life of work, it saved Russia. By the end of the 20s the expression "administrative mandatory system" became a political swearword. The state that controlled both economy and culture accepted the language of the "governed" instead of the bureaucratic language. While, after all, the essence of socialization was that all workers should be owners. That was the idea of the NEP. The situation changed in 1928-1929 when the Stalin faction actually perpetrated a coup d'etat.

G.P. Nowadays the NEP is presented as a compromise with the liberal Western market model of production. Is it so?

L.K. Western economy should not be treated as a scarecrow any longer. Provided there is state control, market economy is all right. It is not the attitude to the market but the attitude to the man that is different for socialists and liberals: man must become the owner of the whole social potential, all men, not just a few of them. We repudiate the Western model because there a group of persons appropriates the labor of a much greater number of people. Which however does not mean that property should not be divided into parts commensurate with each person. We, along with the East European countries, have come to the conclusion that property should not be monolithic and impersonal. It should have diverse connections with separate persons and remain under their control. This process was underway in the 20s. The similarity with the Western economy should be in everything except for the most important aspect: to whom this property belongs. Who has access to it? Workers and owners who distribute the profits with the help of self-government and guide social processes, or a stratum of masters and managers?

Are we not trying at the moment to shift the authority of the state to the field of more general matters so that it does not get stuck between the worker and his tool in every working place? This is what brings us closer to the world processes that are developing in the West too, this is what determines our own approach: property of a collective but not private character!

G.P. Does the technocratic approach to man in all his diversity constitute a threat?

L.K. Since the 30s and up to the present day, technocratic models have been in wide use. The technocrat is someone who ignores the issue of property and tends to solve all problems with no regard for democracy, within a small group of people. In this sense technocracy is a type of bureaucracy, while bureaucracy is ownership of social functions. We started with nationalization of society, now our task is to socialize the nation. It turned out that the utopian model of a society where "everyone" rules is unattainable: one cannot rule instead of officials, one can rule together with them, developing all forms of collective government and limiting their authority by means of elected democratic structures that would be able to control officials. That was provided for the decisions of the January Plenary Meeting and that was the essence of lessons Lenin learned from the October Revolution when he put forward the NEP course.

G.P. Can we say that the NEP was a model that was complete from the economic, cultural and political point of view?

L.K. Unfortunately not. The NEP was not elaborated beyond the scope of economics, a factor which led to its forcible end. For example, a few paradoxes: the resolution of the 10th Party Congress "On Party Unity" (1921) was never fulfilled completely. I am convinced that in spirit it was one single system: the NEP and the decisions of the 10th Congress which allowed political discussion and opposition. A Party member was expected to support the adopted political decisions with the right to discuss and criticize.

All this was included into the resolution of the 10th Congress, but unfortunately only the banning part of it was implemented. The part concerning discussions was not developed. This led to the uncontrolled development of the bureaucracy which gradually began to interpret the Party decisions as it pleased. Like Caesar's wife, the officialdom was beyond suspicion. We paid a dear price for that! Huge masses of people who lost a chance to work normally on the land, in the economic sphere, rushed into the limited space of the state apparatus and many were slaughtered in the jam of 1937. Forward came the people who rejoiced at every opportunity of using force. One can explain it as going to the extremes. But this is the normal bureaucratic style displayed in the extreme form of bureaucratic cruelty. I believe that we used to underestimate bureaucracy as a hugh dehumanizing force. It is in the depths of bureaucracy that the consciousness is formed that would prefer to see the world perish rather than let someone question the competence of an institution. To move forward we have to go back to the original revolutionary stand in its NEP form.

G.P. How can we make modern economics commensurate with individual owners? It certainly cannot be divided into "plots"?

L.K. Under the weight of bureaucratic institutions various more or less acceptable forms of human labor activity have been elaborated. For instance, the comprehensive job contract was one such spontaneous form of socialization which can now be applied on a national scale. This is a form of participation in handling the public wealth, and this is the right form: property is always personalized, it needs an individual custodian, all the more so with the raising of the level of socialization. Today we talk about nothing but "the master". The contract suggests a model of such a master. It shows that even during the stagnation period the healthier section of the people did not drink or steal but looked for ways to combine in one person the master, the owner and the worker. This is the main goal of socialism: to make the wealth created by humanity a personal potential available to every one.

G.P. Nearly six decades have passed since the end of the NEP. Should we consider this gap as just a "pause", "a zig-zag"? Have all these years brought nothing new in principle that would add something to our national culture and character?

L.K. Within the framework of the administrative system these years have seen an important growth in the economy, achievements in industry and education. As for the national character, there have been some negative changes because people fell out of habit of being masters, they lost the sense of dignity when faced by the state. A bureaucrat is no master either—he cannot bring home a factory or sell it. He has found a different form of personal consumption: in the form of prestige, of functional importance and grandeur, which are easily transformed into common boorishness.

Mind you, the moral issue is nothing abstract nowadays: it reflects the protest against the system of post privileges, which are a variety of functional privileges. A person who is entrusted with public wealth does not gain new rights but rather loses them—the collective and society have the power to control him or her. Otherwise an official can turn into a monopolist. This is no easy problem. What should be done to free the control over public wealth from bureaucratic monotony—this is the main problem of today, a vital problem for socialism.

G.P. Would you say that the present state of affairs in this respect generates a cautious and even suspicious attitude to this country on the part of the West?

L.K. Exactly. It is not that they fear us as a military force ready to leap at them. This is not the case. We are feared because of our bureaucracy which until quite recently was omnipotent, and led to the desperate thought that there was no way out of this situation. Such a "paradise" can hardly attract anyone. That's where the "rational kernel" lays, the rest is a question of processing by the propaganda machine, politicians and business. Fear turns into aggressiveness, capable of unpredictable actions. The general level of security and democratic processes both here and in the West is reduced. It's our task to help them to overcome fear of us. Today, people are looking to us with the hope of getting rid of fear: "What if we offer the world an alternative which wouldn't frighten them if it'd triumph throughout the world?!

G.P. In our experience of today, what must we reconsider concerning the way the "Stalin problem" was put 20 years ago?

L.K. Everything, from the beginning to the end. There wasn't any "Personality Cult", it was the cult of a political authoritative post, the "cult of the chair" with supreme powers. In the case of Stalin personality played an important role, but the subsequent development witnessed the cult of the post without personality.

G.P. Don't you think it's a difficult problem, when people of that generation naturally associate themselves with that system of leadership just because their life passed without that system?

L.K. Yes, morally it's not an easy problem for them, as well as for all of us. But let's remember the strongest and the most reasonable of them: they were all outstanding personalities who lived their lives despite the existing bureaucracy and independent of the fact that the fruits of their activity were assumed by that bureaucracy. The people of those hard times lived for their Motherland, for developing their culture and, finally, for themselves. It can't be denied. They were selflessly getting over the unprecedented sluggishness of the system. It was no coincidence that this generation won the war....

G.P. Thus Stalin's system wasn't morally powerful even during the peak of its unity, was it? Then, maybe, the name of Stalin was firmly linked with the Victory just because during the war this secret moral work of each and every person reached it's climax?

L.K. That's the point. It's in human nature to embody one's ideals in someone. And I think the fact that people defended their Motherland on the battlefield with the name of Stalin on their lips says as little in favor of Stalin as the cry "Hurray!"

G.P. What is our role as a people and as a state in the world family of nations as we enter the third millennium?

L.K. Our duty is to show the world all the brilliance and attractiveness of real socialism. No matter what we have experienced in the past, this is our task for now. This is what's expected of us. We must prove that October was not in vain, that socialism is not fiction and moral crisis, but maximum democracy and a maximum of human dignity. We promised it to the world in 1917, it's our "socialist duty".

G.P. And the last question, Len Vyacheslavovich, is not actually mine. An American pacifist, a very religious woman says: "O.K. I believe Gorbachev, let's say you've built your socialism. It'll be a wonderful socialism with nothing to match it, the most comfortable in the whole world. But what will people who don't want to be socialists in your wonderful socialism do? Maybe nothing will threaten them, but still their life will pass in eternal ideological and cultural isolation. Wouldn't it seem unbearable to a free thinker?"

L.K. It's an interesting question, but not all that hard to answer. Yes, we say "more socialism!", and only socialism is the future of our country. That's why I insist on enriching the concept of socialism radically with all the advantages of "Perestroyka". We don't want to discuss anything not concerning the socialist perspectives, but we can talk about a totally new approach to this problem. When I'm asked: what should the non-socialists do? I ask in return: what do you understand by socialism? Why can't people find their place in it? Do they want individual enterprise? But socialism calls for it. Do they want to publish their work at private publishing houses? Socialism permits it.

G.P. I think this woman meant not politics and business, but some other cultural and religious models of life, alternatives in way of life.

L.K. Well! Socialism provides a wide range of human alternatives. There are a great number of small, sometimes strange communities and associations being created in the world. In our country we witness the same process of developing all kinds of societies, unions, youth clubs, and other groups, which are hailed as the enrichment of the way of life. The socialist consciousness not only permits, but welcomes this initiative.

G.P. What do you mean by "welcomes"? How great is the need for amateur clubs and unions?

L.K. Everyone must be able to realize his strength and talent, to try himself in every spiritual dimension in order to make this society universal. Each one can find his place here. And socialism in this means just a normal way of life; life together with others, but not at their expense.

Economic

Editorial on Delivery Contract Discipline

PM041417 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Economic Contract as the Basis of a Stable Performance by the Country's Economy"]

[Text] The Severskiy pipe plant in Sverdlovsk Oblast is supplying its output to 4,000 consumers inside the country alone. Its pipes of various types and dimensions are much in demand among Siberian and Central Asian oil and gas workers, the producers of ZIL and KAMAZ motor vehicles, builders of trunk pipelines, and municipal economy workers. However, it is not just high quality which distinguishes the metallurgists' work. For many years now the collective has been supplying its output strictly in accordance with contracts and has invariably fulfilled consumers' orders 100%. The enterprise's experience has been endorsed by the CPSU Central Committee.

Tens of thousands of other enterprises are fulfilling their contracts on time. However, this requirement has not yet become the rule as regards every labor collective. Information supplied by the USSR State Committee for Statistics on the results of work during the first three quarters indicate that 28% of industrial production associations and enterprises failed to meet their contract commitments, and the plan, taking account of delivery commitments, was 98% fulfilled. A shortfall of 2% may look insignificant. However, precisely because of disrupted deliveries consumers failed to receive goods to the value of R10.5 billion.

Frankly speaking, the attitude of machine building sector workers to the fulfillment of consumers' orders was irresponsible. Some 60% of plants and associations in this complex have failed to meet their delivery commitments and their output fell R3 billion worth of goods short of consumers' expectations. The machine builders' contracts were only 95.8% fulfilled. Such a result is bound to cause concern.

Among the republics, enterprises in Uzbekistan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan have a poor record as regards the fulfillment of orders. Some undisciplined managers are trying to use the freaks of the weather as an excuse for their unsatisfactory work. But is the climate in Belorussia or Lithuania perhaps better than in the south? Nonetheless, the fulfillment of orders in these republics is now much better.

Closer scrutiny reveals that the problem lies elsewhere—in adherence to old methods of management, in the personal irresponsibility on the part of a number of economic managers at local level, and in the lack of organizational ability. Some leaders seem to live in the past, they use output volumes in rubles as a yardstick, and they are asking collectives to increase above all the output of goods which produce a good gross output figure in terms of rubles rather than to produce the goods which consumers are expecting under contracts.

It is impossible to operate in the new conditions of management with approaches like these. After all, if goods are produced for the warehouse rather than the consumer, you cannot hope to get paid for them in conditions of economic accountability [khozraschet]. Everyone who takes part in production, from the minister to the worker, must thoroughly grasp this idea.

Disruptions in deliveries begin as a rule with "minutiae" whose cost is counted in kopecks and whose share in the output sales plan amounts to mere tenths or hundredths of 1%. However, they soon snowball. For instance, one plant in Vladimir Oblast fails to dispatch a batch of microcircuits to the Novosibirsk plant which produces electric drives for the Moscow "Krasnyy Proletariy" association—and as a result a considerable number of machine tools cannot be dispatched to consumers.

Yet last year, when the contracts for deliveries were concluded, everything was put down in the plan, backed up with funds, and the schedules were signed and sealed. The paperwork is in order, yet the orders are not executed on time. Why do suppliers not keep their word? Some people are saying that the obsolete approach based on gross output volumes is to blame. True, it does hamper work. However, a normally functioning economy presupposes orderly and honest mutual relations between partners. In such relations there is no room for lack of conscientiousness and for indiscipline. In conditions of self-financing there will be problems unless every manager takes personal responsibility for his work.

Delivery discipline is being seriously undermined by the local favoritism which flourishes in a number of regions where plants dispatch output on instructions "from above" primarily to "their own" consumers, although according to the schedule it should be dispatched outside the region. The division of consumers into "ours" and "others" and adherence to the policy of "take what you can get" is costing the national economy as a whole dearly. Shops and even whole plants are idling, valuable working time is lost, deadlines for the commissioning of projects are not met, and warehouses are crammed full with "nondisposable items."

What about the system of material and technical supply? What role will it play? It is supposed to become a flexible economic mechanism which will reliably assist enterprises to fulfill contract deliveries. With the introduction of self-financing the shortcomings of the obsolete supply system began to show up especially markedly. Up to now suppliers have not had to bear economic responsibility for fully providing production with the exact materials that it requires, and this has encouraged warehouse workers to build up "gross volumes"—by trying to sell primarily very expensive goods.

With the switch of territorial supply organs to economic accountability [khozraschet], incentives for warehouse workers should be based not on output sales but should be paid out for 100% fulfillment of consumers' orders in the whole range of goods and for cuts in turnover costs. Supply organs, in cooperation with sector ministries, are now called upon to ensure the conclusion of economic contracts by enterprises and asssociations for the coming year as soon as possible. Supply workers must prepare more actively for the mass transition to economic accountability [khozraschet] and expand direct contacts between consumers and manufacturers.

It goes without saying that you can only deliver in full and on time what has been produced, and that this is possible only when the supply enterprise fulfills all orders steadily, on time, and completely in accordance with delivery contracts. This is how the collective of the aforementioned Severskiy pipe plant fulfills all contracts without delay and for the whole range of orders. The first precondition is smooth work without stoppages or storm-tactics, and the efficient fulfillment by all divisions of daily and shift output schedules. Second, leading metallurgists, supported by members of their teams, have proposed to accept the heavy burden of collective responsibility for the observance of labor and technological discipline and labor safety. The idea, which came from the workers themselves, seemed very exacting at first: If anyone produces substandard work or metal which does not correspond to the order—the responsibility falls not only on the culprit but on all members of the team. Discipline has become stronger on the basis of high exactingness and trust. Special attention has been devoted to workers' economic education, concern for the next generation of workers, and support for every valuable idea concerning the improvement of equipment and production techniques. All this, taken together, helped to rally the collective, to ensure smooth, disciplined working, and to fulfill consumers' orders right on schedule.

The 70th anniversary of Great October is approaching. Every labor collective is seeking to mark it with successes in the enhancement of production efficiency. Now and in the future these successes will depend largely on the efficient collaboration between the collectives which take part in the production of the end product. The basis for steady, efficient work must be provided by the 100% fulfillment of output deliveries in full accordance with economic contracts and orders.

State-Enterprise Conflict Potential Viewed

PM041607 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 1

[M. Krushinskiy "Economic Review": "Reorganization in Action"]

[Text] Last Tuesday L. Vid, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, begged for mercy. Appealing to journalists gathered in the conference hall, he tapped his finger expressively on his watch: "Comrades, please understand me correctly!..."

The routine press conference at the Gosplan lasted longer than scheduled and was, I must frankly admit, rather trying for the heads of the department. A "fundamental issue" was discussed: the country's economic development prospects in the immediate future, that is, the rest of this year and next year. Although everyone present was, of course, familiar with the documents of the USSR Supreme Soviet session which ratified the plan for 1988, and the situation in the country as a whole was clear to everyone and generated no disputes, the questions asked were "awkward" and uncomfortable.

For example: from 1 January the majority of enterprises will become legally independent and their prosperity will henceforth depend solely on them. However, will not the state order mechanism, which is to replace rigid regulation from above, simply develop into another variety of the previous plan which fettered initiative and was specified down to the last detail? Will it not cancel out the effect of the new Law on the State Enterprise as a very important lever of economic restructuring?

The person asking the question, a representative of one of the central newspapers, had recently visited the Urals; he quoted the director of a machine building plant there as asking how we can be independent if the state order system "lands us in it up to our necks" and "eats up" all our potential? Another correspondent "added fuel to the fire": the state order passed down to one particular railway department basically exceeds its carrying capacity and radically undermines its room for maneuver.

These facts have evidently still to be verified. But we will not turn a blind eye to reality: There are grounds for conflicts of this nature. They are to be found in the objective, internal contradictions of the present stage in our economic development. New economic levers and old administrative levers of management are at work simultaneously. The former are still not strong enough to serve as a support; we have to restructure gradually without forgetting production quality or slackening our pace. Both are acutely necessary. It is well known, for example, that fluctuations in the world market situation and the sharp fall in prices for our traditional exports (primarily oil) have led to a reduction in hard-currency revenue. We are having to give up many goods which we used to obtain abroad. How is the gap to be filled, if not with our own products? How can we gain a foothold on the international market with goods that require a high level of processing if we do not bring their quality up to world standards?

Hence the high plan targets. National income is to increase by 4.3% in comparison with this year, industrial production by 4.5%, and agricultural production by 3.4%. Structural improvements in sectors of the national economy are designed to enhance the role played by the manufacturing sectors, primarily machine building. Stringent economy measures are essential to ensure that they are fully provided with material resources.

Hence the contradictions: On the one hand, the struggle for production efficiency and a reduction in the administrative apparatus; on the other, expansion of the state acceptance system, which, as is well known, is a purely monitoring rather than a producing factor. Another contradiction: On the one hand, the emphasis on the "human factor" and material interest in reducing production costs; on the other, the very tough resource-saving program that has been incorporated in the plan "arbitrarily." In theory, it is easy to explain that the state acceptance system will eventually repay itself a hundredfold and that we cannot wait for the wholesale trade supply mechanism to gather momentum. But the dialectical unity of opposites offers little consolation to workers or, say, builders whose work has come to a halt because of a cement shortage. They want to be paid now according to the work they have put in. And they are right, of course.

So is an adequately reliable system of insurance against certain "discrepancies" with the plan actually possible?

The state order is the only "door" through which the state can now "gain entry" to an enterprise, the deputy chairman of the Gosplan told journalists. He added that the number of indicators regulated from above has decreased considerably.

All this is correct. But the interests of the state and society must coincide with the interests of every labor collective. The essence of economic restructuring lies in this "combination." Consequently, until we can manage without our cumbersome administrative "pyramid," we must ensure strict procedure and verification at every level and overcome bureaucratic inertia. The basis for this already exists: the new law coming into force and the daily strengthening democratism in the discussion and solution of our economic problems. Incidentally, the very fact that there are now regular meetings between the heads of this central department and the press is evidence of this.

BRIEFS

Tractor Production Quality Up

The Lenin Tractor Works in Minskhas dispatched more than 300 machines to farmers. Production quality has increased thanks to the introduction of the state acceptance service. For the first time the association is to turn out 100,000 tractors per year. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 10 Nov 87 LD*]

Sponge Iron Output Up

Our Belgorod correspondent reports from the Oskol Electrometallurgical Combine. The 1 millionth tonne of sponge iron specially prepared from a raw material product intended for producing especially high-quality steel was produced there this morning. For the first time this has been achieved in less than 1 year thanks to the successful mastering of new capacities. Sponge iron output has been increased 1.5 times. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 10 Nov 87 LD*]

Kazakhstan Shipping Season Ends

The navigation season has ended in the Upper Irtysh Shipping line in Kazakhstan. More than 5 million tonnes of freight have been transported this year, considerably more than planned. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Nov 87 LD*]

Agricultural

Grain Delivery Plans Fulfilled

Crimean Farms

AU091420 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 30 Oct 87 p 3

[RATAU report: "Grain in Excess of the Plan"]

[Text] Simferopol, 29 October—Having sold 731,000 metric tons of grain to the state, Crimean farm toilers fulfilled the annual plan and socialist pledges assumed in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October. Almost all wheat delivered to reception centers is of strong, valuable, and durum varieties. The farms have fully provided themselves with seeds for the next crop and the sales of grain are now going on. Grain is now being delivered by rice growing kolkhozes and sovkhozes with average per-hectare yields exceeding 60 quintals. Under complex weather conditions, the second threshing of rice is being carried out. Also, corn and sorghum gathering is in progress.

Zaporozhye Oblast

AU091422 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 30 Oct 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "To State Granaries"]

[Excerpts] Zaporozhye, 28 October—Zaporozhye Oblast toilers have fulfilled the annual plan for the sales of sunflower seeds. More than 267,000 metric tons of seeds have already been delivered to state granaries. The farms of Pologovskiy, Orekhovskiy, Mikhaylovskiy, and Novonikolayevskiy Rayons have delivered the largest quantities of the oil-bearing crop. The per-hectare yields averaged 19.7 quintals of seeds. [passage omitted]

All farms have provided themselves with seeds. The sales of sunflower seeds are in process. The farmers have pledged to sell to the state at least 8,000 more metric tons of sunflower seeds in excess of the plan.

Ukrainian Sales Exceed Plan

PM101419 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Nov 87 p 1

[S. Luzgan report: "Ukrainian Graingrowers' Success"]

[Text] Kiev, 9 Nov—The republic's farmers have fulfilled the annual plan for sales of grain to the state. A total of 17.7 million tonnes of grain has been delivered to the motherland's granaries, which is more than planned. Grain reception enterprises have taken delivery of 4 million tonnes of strong and valuable wheat. The plans for the sales of groat crops and pulses, rye, barley, and oats have also been fulfilled.

Positive trends have emerged in the development of Ukrainian grain farming over the past 2 years. This is borne out by the fact that average annual grain production over this period has increased by almost 7 million tonnes in comparison with the last 5-year plan. In the current jubilee year average grain yields in the republic as a whole exceed 32 quintals per hectare.

The increased grain yields are the result of the assimilation of scientifically substantiated farming systems and the widespread application of intensive techniques, economic accountability [khozraschet], and the team contract. The highest yields per hectare were achieved by farms in Cherkassy, Ternopol, Kiev, Potava, Crimean, Chernovitsy, Volyn, and Rovno Oblasts.

Stocks of seed and feed grain have been laid in. Sales of grain to the state are continuing.

Uzbek Cotton Harvest Problems Reported

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[N. Sadullayev report with commentary under the "Harvest-87" rubric: "Be Daring, Cotton Growers!"]

[Excerpts] In the history of Uzbekistan there has never been a year in which the cotton harvest was easy. But even experienced old farmers cannot recall a season as difficult as this one. The cotton plants were late in ripening and the beginning of the harvest was delayed. Usually more than 4 million tonnes of raw cotton have been procured in October but the procurement centers have received 1 million tonnes less than that.

All the republic's inhabitants are anxious about the fate of the harvest. According to long-standing tradition workers from the cities and rayon centers come to the crop farmers' aid. This year the situation on the plantations is complex. Quite a lot of snow has fallen in the past few days although the pace of the fall harvest has not slackened. Cotton growers in Khorezm Oblast are in the lead now. [passage omitted citing local party officials' comments]

Correspondent's Commentary [subhead]

What conclusions can be drawn from an analysis of the progress of the harvest in the republic? On most farms the collection of cotton is well organized. Particularly in those places where they are relying on machinery. In Syr-Darya, Dzhizak, Khorezm, Bukhara, Surkhan-Darya, and Tashkent Oblasts between 30% and 50% of the daily harvest is being picked by machine.

In some oblasts, however, in particular Samarkand and Navoi Oblasts, the harvest is making slow progress. The backlog is often put down to the resowing of cotton and the vagaries of spring and summer. People are reluctant to recall that machinery is being used efficently far from everywhere and that the work of those taking part in the harvest is poorly organized.

The republic's Gosagroprom is taking measures to rectify the situation promptly under the extreme conditions. But labor collectives themselves should not pin their hopes solely on outside help. They must make more energetic use of all reserves so as to speed up the completion of work in the cotton fields.